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ROME AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN MAGAZINES

IN the first volume of his exhaustive and masterly *History of the Catholic Church in the United States,* John Gilmary Shea traces the early struggles of the first apostles to establish the Catholic Church in North America, and the insurmountable obstacles they encountered in their efforts to instruct the rude and the savage, to offer the holy sacrifice of the Mass, and to administer the sacraments to men of all races and tribes. In carrying out the work of their mission, these priests and their flocks in the English colonies and the young republic suffered from what Shea describes as "the blind fanaticism of members of other faiths, and [they] were victims of penal laws which all but stifled the unhappy Catholic." It is a known fact that the feeling of hostility to Catholics in the English colonies was encouraged and maintained for political motives and served as a connecting link between the Puritan of New England and the Episcopalian of Virginia and Maryland. The legislators of Virginia, South Carolina, and other parts of the country did everything possible to obstruct the work of the Catholic clergy.[1]

These facts are generally known and do not require further comment. In the course of his investigations on Italo-American cultural

[1] John Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days, 1521-1763* (New York, 1886), I, 638-640. Sister Mary Augustina Ray in her *American Opinion of Roman Catholicism in the Eighteenth Century* (New York, 1936) discusses the subject of anti-Catholicism in American literature in a chapter (pp. 165-211) entitled "The Tradition in Colonial Literature." However, the findings presented in this article are in addition to those contained in Sister Augustina's scholarly monograph.

relations the writer has endeavored to discover the mental picture the average American of the eighteenth century had of Rome and of the Catholic Church both as a spiritual and temporal power. The writer believed that the type of articles and books our forefathers read on these subjects quite naturally influenced their opinion and attitude towards the Catholics, and this, in turn, might serve to explain the difficulties and the struggles the early Catholic missions encountered in this country. With this purpose in mind he has examined about ninety of the more important literary and political reviews, magazines, and newspapers of the period for various years. While the majority of these publications were issued in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, the writer, in his desire to present a more comprehensive view of the picture, has also consulted reviews and gazettes published in other cities and towns, e. g., Baltimore; Richmond, and Alexandria, Virginia; Charleston, South Carolina; Worcester and Salem, Massachusetts; Concord, New Hampshire; Rutland and Fairhaven, Vermont; Danbury, Connecticut; Albany and Poughkeepsie, New York; Newark, Elizabethtown, Woodridge, and New Brunswick, New Jersey.[2]

The articles found in these magazines have been classified, for the convenience of the reader, under the following headings: 1. the Church as a temporal power; 2. Church teachings; 3. the Inquisition, heresy, and persecution; 4. Church ceremonies; 5. the character of the popes; 6. description of Rome and of other cities in the Papal States; 7. manners and customs of Roman society.

I. The Church as a Temporal Power.

The main facts and events connected with the War of the Spanish Succession were reported in the public press of the American colonies. For obvious reasons, most of the news that was published in the colonies came from England or was extracted from English newspapers and magazines. The position of the Pope in this conflict was not always presented objectively and in a favorable light. Thus,

[2] The titles of the magazines and the years for which each one was consulted are given in the writer's article on "Italian Culture in Eighteenth-Century American Magazines," *Italica* XXII (March, 1945), 21-31.

for example, the Boston *News Letter*[3] expressed the fear that "a very small thing" would have persuaded the Pope to declare openly for France. In fact, according to this paper, His Holiness had called a congregation of state purposely to consider the advisability of recalling his nuncio from Vienna, because the Emperor Charles VI had refused to grant him an audience. Since the congregation advised the Pope not to recall his nuncio, the *News Letter* remarked that this was "some sort of proof" that the disciples had more "wit" than their master.

A Rome correspondent of the Boston *News Letter*[4] in a letter dated September 4, 1718, reported that the ambassador of the emperor, in his several audiences with the Pope, had made three demands upon him. They were: first, that the bull granted by the Pope to King Philip V of Spain, be forthwith recalled; second, that since the emperor was obliged to re-enforce his troops in Italy, he desired passage for 6,000 men through the territories of the Church, on their way to Naples; third, that these troops be supplied with all necessary provisions. Only in this manner, according to this correspondent, could a new war with Italy be averted. Throughout the conflict these and similar demands on the Pope were renewed by the warring nations. In 1718, for example, the New York *Weekly Journal*[5] published, but made no comment, upon the report that the Germans had again demanded from the Pope the right to send troops through his state so that they might go to the assistance of the Kingdom of Naples.

In 1731, the Boston *Weekly News Letter*[6] published the text of a bull issued by Pope Clement XII[7] wherein His Holiness deplored the "decay of religion, the triumph of impiety" among the subjects of several of his fiefs in the territories of Piedmont. The Pope's grief, in the language of the bull, was more painful because those "rebels" persisted in their behaviour to despise his orders, and "to trample

[3] May 15, 1704.

[4] December 1, 1718.

[5] June 17, 1734.

[6] July 29, 1731.

[7] Lorenzo Corsini, Clement XII (1652-1740). He was made a cardinal in 1706 and elected to the papacy in 1730.

our Pious exhortations under their feet, as if they had performed a commendable action." By virtue of his powers and authority, the Pope declared the inhabitants of those regions "to be rebels against God and the Church, and against our sacred persons." They were cast out of the bosom of the Church and excommunicated. In conclusion the bull ordained that "they be cut off from the ways wherein all the faithful are to seek their salvation. For such is our pleasure."

The Boston *Weekly News Letter*[8] reprinted an article by William Prynne,[9] the well-known anti-Anglican and realist, which he had written years before and which had earlier been published in the *Daily Gazeteer*.[10] Written with the intent to prove that "cruelty and love of blood were the distinguishing characteristics of the Romish clergy," the article traced the history of the downfall of Rome, with emphasis on the cruelties at Thorn. Recalling that "she that but a century or two ago was the mistress of nations, held all the European world in servitude, trampled upon the necks of princes and gave their scepters at pleasure," Prynne pointed out that the same institution was at the moment reduced to the low condition of an ecclesiastical princedom, plundered by everybody, and ready to be seized. The writer believed it probable that inasmuch as the "thunder of the Vatican" was no more heard, the emperor and the King of the Two Sicilies would some day divide the land of the Church between them, limit the jurisdiction of the Pontiff to the city of Rome, and "reduce him to his pristine state of Bishop of Rome." Prynne noted that the *campagna* of Italy was very conveniently located for the King of Naples, as the Ferrarese and the Bolognese was for the emperor. The author found a precedent which would have justified the conduct of Naples before the whole world. This precedent, he said, was the "famous decree" of the assessorial tribunal of Warsaw which was procured by

[8] September 2, 1736.

[9] William Prynne (1600-1669), was an English parliamentarian and Puritan pamphleteer. Born at Swanswick, he combined the practice of law with the study of theology and ecclesiastical antiquities. He wished to reform the manners of his age, attacking its fashions and follies as if they were vices. Imprisoned twice (1634-40 and 1650-52), after the return of Charles II, he was archivist of the Tower of London. He attacked the bishops and the Roman Catholics. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVI, 432-437.

[10] May 10, 1736.

the arts and solicitations of the Jesuits against the city of Thorn, for a disturbance which had taken place in that city in "violation of the honor of their sacred majesties." The disturbance, according to the author, was occasioned by a quarrel between the Lutherans (the inhabitants) and the students of a college of the Jesuits. During the disturbances the college was plundered by the mob, the crucifixes demolished, and other holy images broken to pieces. This outrage was adjudged as treason by the assessorial tribunal which pronounced eleven sentences against the city of Thorn all in one clause, which, in the opinion of Prynne, was executed with the utmost barbarity. For this reason, according to the author, the reverend fathers had revenged themselves against the city of Thorn.

The continued difficulties of the Pope with the Spaniards were discussed in a letter dated Rome, June 17, 1736, and published in the Boston *Weekly News Letter*.[11] According to the author of the letter, the distressed condition of the Papal States had brought the sons of the Church "to look on their poor mother with pity and commisseration." The writer had no doubt that they regarded her as a whimsical old gentlewoman, fond of novelties, having a passionate desire of appearing fine and rich, and dressed up with all the ribbons, gewgaws, and trinkets that could be placed about her. The author viewed all this as a certain indication of a weak or disordered mind. Therefore, her orders and injunctions, he said, were no longer heeded and her threats and her thunder ceased to terrify as formerly. All that they endeavored to do, according to this writer, was to keep the Church "on her legs," and afford her "a decent livelihood" and "disarm her of vengeance so as not to wound herself or destroy her children." At this point the writer revealed that the Emperor Charles VI had written a letter to the Pope assuring His Holiness that he would be the master of all his auxiliary troops then in Italy. But the writer pointed out that the emperor's offers had arrived too late, for, in the meantime, the courts of Spain and Naples had issued the following four clauses:

1. Certain ports in the Ecclesiastical States were to be remitted into the hands of Don Carlos until this affair was entirely concluded.

[11] September 9, 1736.

2. The conservators of the Roman people were to repair to Naples and make their submissions to Don Carlos.

3. The authors of the disturbances were to be sought for and punished.

4. The towns located in the raided state, which had accommodated their differences with the Spanish troops, upon condition of paying certain sums, were to remain in the possession of the Spaniards until the sums were entirely satisfied and paid.

In 1741, it was reported from Rome that Pope Benedict XIV, fearing the consequences of the King of Spain's views on Tuscany to the peace of the Papal States, had written to Cardinal Fleury[12] to exert his influence to prevent new troubles in Italy.[13]

The difficulties of the Jesuits in various countries after the middle of the century received the attention of the press. An English traveller at Rome in a letter dated April 28, 1767, reassured the readers of the New York *Mercury*[14] that the letter from the King of Spain relating to the abolition of the Society of Jesus was genuine. The College of Cardinals dropped communication with the Jesuits when they heard about the letter. Moreover, in Spain the nobility and the Jesuits had completely severed relations between them. It was expected that Naples and Parma would follow the example of Spain.

[12] André Hercule de Fleury (1653-1743), French cardinal and statesman. Educated by the Jesuits in Paris, he entered the priesthood. In 1679 he became almoner to Maria Theresa, Queen of Louis XIV. In 1698 he was Bishop of Fréjus. Later he became tutor to the king's great-grandson and heir. From 1726 he was Prime Minister of France. During the seventeen years of his orderly government the country found time to recuperate its forces after the exhaustion caused by the extravagances of Louis XIV. Internal peace was only seriously disturbed by the severities which Fleury exercised against the Jansenists. He reluctantly supported the ambitious projects of Elizabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain, in Italy by guaranteeing in 1729 the succession of Don Carlos to the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany. Fleury had economized in the army and navy, as elsewhere, and when in 1733 war was forced upon him he was hardly prepared. He concluded a close alliance with the Spanish Bourbons and sent two armies against the Austrians. Military successes on the Rhine and in Italy secured the favorable terms of the Treaty of Vienna (1735-1738).

[13] New York *Weekly Journal*, June 8, 1741.

[14] August 10, 1767.

Moreover, the writer added, Pope Clement XIII had refused to have the Jesuits remain in his territory. The situation had become so critical that the other religious orders, which at first were glad to see the suppression of the Jesuits, began to fear that the reforms would be general.

In another letter from Paris, dated May 15, the New York *Mercury*[15] reported that the Pope had issued orders to the governor of Civitavecchia, a port on the Tyrrhenian Sea, not to permit the Jesuits to land until further notice had been received from him. The writer ventured the opinion that if all the Catholic powers decided to suppress the various Catholic orders, and the Pope wished to call their members before him, all Italy was not large enough to contain them.

The ban against the Jesuits entering Italy from certain foreign countries was soon lifted, for in another letter from Rome, dated July 30, 1767,[16] a correspondent reported that the number of Jesuits in Rome was much increased by the access of those from Portugal. However, the ban against the Spanish Jesuits remained in force, for the General of the Society and the Papal Court continued to refuse their entrance to Rome.

Meanwhile, the troubles of the Jesuits spread to France. In a letter dated Rome, February 16, 1769,[17] a correspondent stated that the French ambassador had informed the Pope that the King of France wished to have the Society of Jesus abolished and its members secularized. The writer explained that " this society had been an inexhaustible source of fatal calamities and dangers." The opposition to the Jesuits was so strong everywhere that an unidentified correspondent sent a letter to the *American Magazine*[18] warning its readers against Jesuitical conversions.

Two articles appeared at about this time on the political conditions of Europe which reflect the attitude of the average American toward the Pope and the Church on the eve of the American Revolution.

[15] August 17, 1767.

[16] New York *Mercury*, November 2, 1767.

[17] New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, June 12, 1769.

[18] (1769), 83-87.

In an article entitled "A Picture of Europe for 1771," a brief paragraph was devoted to Rome. The unidentified writer portrayed the Pope as repeating homilies, and nineteen cardinals singing penitential hymns. The hat of His Holiness inclined on one side of his head. At a distance, the writer pictured a Spaniard and a Frenchman dancing, after having broken their chains.[19] In another article signed "A State Painter," and entitled "A Picture of Europe, for September, 1773," the *Pennsylvania Journal and the Weekly Advertiser*[20] depicted the Pope sitting on a three-legged stool, each leg of which was placed on a Jesuit's head. His Holiness was seen shaking hands with France and Spain.

In 1775, the Boston *Evening Post*,[21] under the heading "foreign advices" published an item from Naples, dated November 8, 1774, which stated that there was much talk of reducing the clergy of that kingdom at the rate of from fifty to one; and it was thought that this reduced number was sufficient to care for the spiritual needs of the population. In 1786, the Boston *Magazine*[22] published what it called "horrid accounts" of the method of punishing criminals in Rome. The stories were extracted from the *Travels* by Moore[23] who, in his day, ranked among the foremost of historical travellers. An extract from a letter sent from Civitavecchia, dated April 3, 1787, outlined the orders issued by His Holiness to fit out two frigates, and some armed ships, to protect the trade from the ravages

[19] New York *Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, November 11, 1771.

[20] January 19, 1774.

[21] February 6, 1775.

[22] (Nov.-Dec., 1786), 418-422.

[23] John Moore (1729-1802), was a physician and man of letters; son of a Presbyterian minister. He was born in Stirling. In company with the Duke of Hamilton, Moore travelled five years on the continent. He wrote *A View of Society and Manners in Italy with Anecdotes Relating to some Eminent Characters*. Two vols. (London, 1781). A Dublin edition of this work was soon published in three volumes. The contents are arranged in a series of letters, and relate in a pleasant style the observations of his travels with the Duke of Hamilton. Twenty-two letters are on Venice; the others describe Padua, Ferrara, Bologna, and other cities visited on the way to Rome. After several letters from Naples, their return journey is described. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, 810-812.

of the Algerian pirates, whose raids along the coasts of Italy at that time had become alarming. Not only had these pirates taken ships belonging to the Pope's dominions, but they had also taken very considerable captives from most of the Italian states. What caused great uneasiness among those who lived near the sea was the fact that these barbarians often effected a landing, carried off the people, and destroyed whole villages.[24]

The American press devoted much attention to the disturbances that swept through Rome and the Papal States during the French Revolution. A letter dated Florence, January 24, 1790, stated that the Pope's power which had been built by many able men through the ages was at stake as a result of the imprisonment of Cagliostro.[25] According to this correspondent, the mob, led by French refugees, sought Cagliostro's release, adding that refusal meant a revolt. He believed that as the Pope's troops were only 4,000 in number they were insufficient to check the black guards on the other side of the Tiber.[26] The spread of similar disturbances throughout the Papal States and all of Italy was reported in a letter from Rome dated March 12, 1790.[27] In an attempt to avert the spread of the revolution, the papal government, according to another corespondent, had conducted a Frenchman to the confines of the Papal States and ordered him not to return. Another Frenchman who was known to be a great friend to the revolution, and an enemy of the monarchy, had also received orders to leave Rome without delay.[28]

The position of the Church was so precarious that His Holiness

[24] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, July 20, 1787.

[25] Giuseppe Balsamo (1743-1795), was born in Palermo. He went under the name of Count Alessandro di San Germano, known as "Cagliostro." He was an imposter and charlatan; he travelled in France, Germany, England, Russia, Austria and Switzerland—everywhere swindling the people. Expelled from London and Paris and Turin, he went to Rome where on December 27, 1789, he was arrested. On April 7, 1792, the Inquisition condemned him to death as a Freemason. In 1782 he had founded the Egyptian Freemasonry in France. Pius VI commuted his sentence to life imprisonment. He died in the fortress of San Leo.

[26] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, May 14, 1790.

[27] *Ibid.*, June 15, 1790.

[28] *Ibid.*, October 26, 1790.

was forced to issue a bull against the French Masons, in which he declared them capable of destroying all orders but their own. According to an article published in the *American Apollo*[29] the punishment of death was pronounced against all subjects who spoke favorably of the French Revolution and exile was decreed for every stranger. As further proof of the limitation on personal freedom, the article cited the case of three professors of the University of Padua who had recently been confined in the prison of St. Mark for freely expressing their sentiments on the subject of politics in their lectures. Noticing the strong symptoms of discontent, the *American Apollo*[30] stated that Pius VI had no power to oppose against any advances that might be made upon his ancient prerogatives, but the "artillery of anathema," which of late years, it noted, "had been discovered to be very harmless in its effects."

As the revolution made progress, the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser,*[31] in a letter from Rome, stated that the Pope was disposed to acknowledge the French Republic and ready to receive its representatives at Civitavecchia. According to this correspondent, the Pope had given orders to fire the guns and welcome the fleet on its arrival. When a plenipotentiary of the French Republic arrived at Civitavecchia charged with despatches for the Pope, orders were sent to receive that minister with a salute of guns, to show him the greatest attention, and to escort him to Rome to meet His Holiness with the utmost ceremony.[32]

In a letter dated Rome, June 14, 1794, the Rome correspondent of the *Gazette of the United States and Daily Evening Advertiser,*[33] reported that suspected persons were arrested in Rome and that a Piedmontese had been sent to the Castle of Sant'Angelo. New signs of Jacobin influence were discovered daily, according to this writer, who added that posterity would hardly believe that mendicant monks and many secular priests of the lower order were some of the main springs

[29] (Boston, 1792), I, 13.

[30] (Boston, 1792), I, 129-130.

[31] February 19, 1793.

[32] New York *Daily Advertiser,* February 9, 1793.

[33] August 29, 1794.

of the proposed revolution in the Italian states. According to the French fashion, the correspondent believed that in their confessionals these priests preached to the people infidelity and contempt of religion and government. Fortunately, however, the government had discovered the plots.

The efforts of the Pope to make peace with France so as to prevent an invasion of the papal dominions were reported in the *South Carolina Weekly Museum*[34] which stated that if peace failed, instructions were going to be issued to the people so that they would know how to act when the signals sounded. Announcing that "citizen Bonaparte" had actually gone to Rome to give His Holiness the "fraternal kiss," the *Herald*[35] recalled that it used to be the fashion for great men to kiss the Pope's toe, but that it was probable that Bonaparte would on this occasion, "rise as high as His Holiness' pockets," adding that the year 1797 seemed destined to end the papal power. When this event occurred, this newspaper promised a dissertation from a neighboring clergymen on the fulfilment of the prophecy, and chronological calculations, to prove that Bonaparte was in good time, "to destroy the beast."

In an article on the co-existence of democracy and Catholicism, the *Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser*[36] announced that a priest of Bologna had lately preached a sermon in the Church of St. Roch, in which he had assured his congregation that "it was useless for them to deceive themselves any longer; that the Catholic religion was incompatible with a democratic government." In this statement the newspaper found "a new proof of the endless errors into which they plunged themselves by following theories." In the United States, the paper concluded, "we find that the Catholic religion harmonizes as well with a republican government, as any other."

When the victories of Napoleon brought an end to the papal government, the *Theological Magazine* of New York,[37] reported that the

[34] January 28, 1797, 127-128.

[35] *The Herald: A Gazette for the Country,* (New York) April 8, 1797.

[36] December 9, 1797.

[37] (Sept.-Nov., 1798), III, 400-403. This article had been published in the *Edinburgh Quarterly Review.*

French Republic had sent troops into Rome to break up the papal secular power, and that as a result of this invasion both the Pope and cardinals had fled. As a Protestant, and writing in a Protestant magazine, the unidentified author of the article rejoiced in the news and tried to show that the sacred scriptures foretold the fall of the papal power. Since the Pope was as "an enemy of Christ," his downfall was justified, concluded the author. In a letter, dated Rome, March 2, 1798,[38] a correspondent stated that "the joy caused by our Revolution appeared unanimous." Ever since February 16, 1798, the arms of the French were seen waving in front of the academical palace and atop the palaces of the most distinguished notables.

On the anniversary of the coronation of Pope Pius VI,[39] the Roman patriots, in agreement with the French, had made every effort and preparation to plant the tree of liberty. A review of the troops also was ordered. A correspondent who was present reported that a procession of a kind, rare in this city, was seen. Monks and priests, carrying religious emblems regarded as the most sacrosanct objects, marched to the arch of Septimius Severus. The procession ascended the Capitol and planted the "liberty tree" before the statue of Marcus Aurelius. Unanimously every one gave vent to wild acclamation sanctioning the triumph of liberty. Then the act, regenerating the city of Rome, prepared by four notaries, was read aloud. The general received the deputation of the people with the utmost affability, and in the name of the French Republic he declared Rome an independent republic. At the same time he offered the deputation 50,000 Frenchmen to defend its liberty. Meanwhile, the assembled cardinals signified their renunciation of the temporal government. The Pope was informed that "the people had thought it their duty

[38] *Gazette of the United States and Philadelphia Daily Advertiser,* May 24, 1798. It was reprinted under the title, "Revolution in Rome—ci devant mistress of the world." *Spectator,* (New York), May 26, 1798.

[39] Giovanni Angelo Braschi, Pius VI (1717-1798), was born in Cesena, made a cardinal in 1773, and two years later he was elected Pope. He initiated the drainage of the Pontine Marshes. He opposed in vain the ecclesiastical reforms of the Catholic sovereigns. On February 19, 1797, he concluded with the French Republic the disastrous peace of Tolentino. On February 20, 1798, he was made a prisoner and sent into exile. He died in Valence on August 20, 1798.

to resume the sovereignty." A solemn Mass was announced and the proclamation of the cardinals declared "that the foundation of every political association was religion, and that God was the author of religion and liberty."

The condition of the Pope after his deposition was described in an article published in the *Monthly Magazine and American Review.*[40] The writer stated that when a republican government was established in Rome, the Pope was removed to Siena in an effort to avert a counter-revolt. Later Pius VI went to Florence, but since the grand duke felt uneasy at keeping him very long, His Holiness then proceeded to a Carthusian convent near Florence, bringing with him his attendants and luxuries. The monks, according to the writer, were astonished at such luxuries in the possession of the head of the Church. This and other incidents were recounted to prove that the Pope was vain and rich.

II. Church Teachings

The usual objections advanced by Protestants against the teachings of the Catholic Church were heard and repeated in eighteenth-century America. A letter from a gentleman in Italy, printed in the Boston *Weekly News Letter,*[41] complained of the fact that in Italy inquiries after sacred truth were lost "in a labyrinth of confused words to which a disciple of sense must leave them unintelligible as he found them." The writer, who was doubtless an Englishman, added that the priests, "those idle labourers," had "bewildered their people" by teaching them things which no mortal being could understand. The writer insisted that if the Gospel was a divine revelation, then it was "every man's treasure and each should judge for himself."

Citing four examples of the abuse of preaching in Italy, the *Christian Scholar's and Farmer's Magazine,*[42] published extracts from the second volume of a work, printed in London in 1704, entitled *The*

[40] (New York, 1800), II, 465-468.

[41] February 11, 1731.

[42] II, (1790), 282-287.

Frauds of Romish Monks by G. d'Emiliane,[43] who embraced the Protestant faith after having been many years a priest of the Church of Rome. The magazine hoped that the examples selected out of many would excite "in the breast of the Protestant reader, sensations of gratitude to Heaven, for his enjoyment of the inestimable privilege of having the word of God faithfully preached."

A letter from Rome dated January 20, 1750,[44] stated that Cardinal Prospero Lambertini,[45] on being raised to the pontificate, was desirous of reforming the abuses occasioned by his predecessors. He, therefore, signified privately to all the heads of the religious orders in Italy that he would not suffer the people to be imposed upon by pretended miracles. The writer, who described the Pope as "an honest though unfashionable sort of a body," pointed out that since the saints and images had become mute as a result of this prohibition, the finances of a great many monks and country curates were impoverished. Therefore, he noted, many of them had demanded an audience of the Pope.

The *Massachusetts Magazine*[46] of Boston, printed the advice given by Pope Ganganelli[47] to a Roman lady who had written to him to inquire how best to teach and guide her two daughters who were about twenty years of age. The Pope gave the mother a moral lecture on how to win the confidence of the daughters, how to rear them in the religious world, how to make them gain the respect of others, and in general how to make herself and her daughters happier.

[43] Gabriel D'Emiliane, was the author of *The Frauds of Romish Monks and Priests set forth in Eight letters* . . . by a Gentleman (London, 1691). Another edition of this work was published in 1725. D'Emiliane also wrote: *A Short History of Monastical Orders, in which the primitive institution of monks, their tempers, habits, rules, and the condition they are in at present, are treated of.* (London, 1693), and *Observations on a Journey to Naples, wherein the frauds of Romish Monks are Further Discovered* (London, 1725).

[44] New York *Evening Post,* May 14, 1750.

[45] Prospero Lambertini, Pope Benedict XIV (1675-1758). He was born in Bologna and elected Pope in 1740. He was a scholar and a patron of the arts.

[46] V (February, 1793), 76-77.

[47] Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli, Clement XVI (1705-1774). He was born in Sant'Arcangelo di Romagna and became a Franciscan in 1723 and a cardinal in 1759; he was elected Pope in 1769. In 1773 he suppressed the Society of Jesus. He died on September 22, 1774.

A review of the Reverend Joseph Berington's *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani,*[48] giving an account of his agency in England in the years 1634, 1635, and 1636, appeared in the *American Monthly Review.*[49] According to Berington, Panzani was an Italian sent to England by Urban VIII in the year 1634, for the purpose of settling differences which had long divided the Catholics. The *Memoirs,* which were written in Italian by Panzani himself, or from materials which he supplied, had never been published. A man by the name of Dodd, whom the article merely identifies as a Romish priest, obtained an accurate translation of these memoirs from an eminent prelate, pub-

[48] Joseph Berington (1746-1827), was a Catholic divine born in Shropshire. When he was very young, he was sent to the College of St. Omer, and after being ordained he exercised his priestly functions in France for several years, and then returned to his native country. He allied himself with the liberal, or moderate Catholics, who were striving to obtain their civil and religious liberty. He reduced Catholicism to a minimum, and he confessed that "many things in the Catholic belief weigh rather heavily on my mind, and I should be glad to have a wider field to range in." (Milner, *Supplementary Memoirs,* 45). He translated the *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani; giving an account of his agency in England in the years 1634, 5, and 6; translated from the Italian original, and now first published. To which are added, an Introduction and a Supplement, exhibiting the state of the English Catholic Church, and the conduct of the parties before and after that period, to the present times.* (London, 1793). It was reprinted under the title of *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Catholic Religion in England during a period of two hundred and forty years from the reign of Elizabeth to the present time; including the Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani, envoy from Rome to the English court in 1643, 1644, and 1645, with many interesting particulars relative to the court of Charles the First and the Causes of the Civil War.* Translated from the Italian original. (London, 1813). This work elicited some "Remarks on the book entitled *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani*" (1794), from the Jesuit Father Charles Plowden, who expressed doubts as to the authenticicity of the manuscript. Berington vindicated its genuineness in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for June, 1795, and was answered by Milner in the number for September. Milner then stated that "the well-known Mr. Joseph Berington, so far from being a Roman Catholic bishop, has not even the ordinary commission of Roman Catholic clergyman in the ecclesiastical district in which he resides. *Dictionary of National Biography,* II, 337-339. The work is listed in the *Catalogue of the British Museum* as follows: *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani . . . translated from the Italian Original . . . to which are added an Introduction and Supplement.* By . . . the Rev. J. Berington. 1793, 80. Several translations appeared of this work.

[49] (Philadelphia, 1795), 143-149.

lishing only a few extracts. Having come into the possession of the manuscript, Berington published it with such introductory and supplementary matter as he judged necessary to render his work a complete sketch of the history of the English Roman Catholics, from the time above mentioned. The apparent purpose of the publication was to persuade the English Roman Catholics, who were then under the jurisdiction of vicars apostolic appointed by the Pope, to free themselves from the inconvenience of this type of jurisdiction by supplicating the Pope for the restoration of the ordinary episcopal government. In order to stress the evils arising from an English ecclesiastical government dependent on the See of Rome, Berington sketched the history of the troubles and the contests of the English Roman Catholics, from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth to his own time.

III. The Inquisition, Heresy, and Persecution by the Church.

In the eighteenth century the American Protestant read a great deal about the Inquisition, heresy, and persecution by the Church of Rome. These topics were, of course, always treated from the Protestant point of view. The newspapers and gazettes devoted considerable space to subjects of this kind.

Despite the troubles that confronted the Pope in the administration of his temporal power, the Boston *News Letter*[50] reported that His Holiness did not relinquish his war on heresy, adding that at the moment there were no less than 400 persons in the dungeons awaiting trial by the inquisitors. Among them were Count Carandini,[51] a marquess, and a "poor nun" who, because of her alleged "powers of prophesying," had fallen into the hands of the inquisitors. After being tortured, according to the *News Letter,* the nun confessed her guilt and received ten years imprisonment "in those loathsome styes

[50] May 15, 1704.

[51] Count Ippolito Lodovico Carandini, born in Modena in the seventeenth century. He was jailed in a prison later called the Carandina, of the castle of Rubiera where in 1688 he committed suicide.

of inhumanity." In 1706 the *News Letter*[52] reported that the Inquisition met very frequently to examine the complaints that were made of abuses committed by the clergy, both regular and secular.

From an article published in the *London Magazine* in June, 1735, the *New England Boston Weekly News Letter*[53] published an account of "the persecution and cruelty in the principles, practices, and spirit of the Romish church." The author stated that persecution was not only permitted, but commanded; it was enforced by the severest penalties and greatly encouraged. By the Councils of Toledo and the Lateran, according to the author, the penalty for not persecuting Protestants was persecution, deposition, and loss of territory in this life, and hell-fire in the next. The practice of the Church was persecution of those who held different views. The author quoted statistics to show that from 1534, the year when the Jesuits were founded, to the year 1580, about 900,000 orthodox Christians had been "murdered," and that "in less than thirty years 150,000 others had been consumed with various manners of cruelty." The spirit of popery was a cruel spirit; cruelty was the genius of that religion, so the author insisted. Then he asked: "Why such fevered punishments for difference of opinion? Why must men's minds be searched into? Why death? Why be roasted alive? Why so much pleasure and joy in the spectators at the torture of a poor soul? Can these principles be disowned, which supposedly, are the dictates of the Holy Ghost?" The author answered these questions with the statement that popery was still animated by the same cruelty and fraud, which had been proved by the treatment of the Protestants and the cruelties of their inquisitions. He concluded that "the guilt of that Church will surely bring her down and sink her, as a milestone, into the sea."

To show what detestation all true Protestants should have of the popish religion, the Boston *Weekly News Letter*[54] published an account taken from the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for November, 1745, of the proceedings of the court of the Inquisition at Lisbon against

[52] May 20, 1706.
[53] January 15, 1736.
[54] March 20, 1746.

Elizabeth Vasconcellos, an Englishwoman, in the year 1706, attested by her before Joseph Wilcocks, Esq., then consul in that city. The story was narrated in all its horrors. According to the published account, after having been reared in the doctrine of the Church of England, Elizabeth Vasconcellos went to Portugal where in 1704 she fell desperately ill. The parish priest went to her home to administer the sacraments. When she recovered she was informed that she had changed her religion and, therefore, was obliged to conform to the Romish church. Because of her refusal to do so, she was imprisoned for eleven months. At the end of the term she was sent to the Inquisition at Lisbon, where, arriving on December 17, 1705, she was imprisoned in a small dark cell for nine months and fifteen days. Finally when she was taken before the inquisitor, she told him that she had been reared a Protestant and intended to remain so. The inquisitor then replied that she must either conform to the Romish Church or burn. After another month in prison she was brought out again as before, and having made the same answer, they bound her hands, stripped her back, and lashed her with a whip. After another fifteen days she was again brought forth and asked to bow down before the crucifix. This also she refused to do. She was then told that she "must burn by the flames" with the Jews during the next *auto da fe*. She was again returned to prison for a month, and after thirty days the executioner, with red hot irons, burned her breasts to the bone, "leaving her to suffer without even a plaster or any other application to ease her atrocious pain." A month later she was given another severe whipping and then brought once more in the presence of the inquisitors. Again she was questioned as to whether she would accept the Romish religion; she replied she had always been a Protestant and would continue to be one. To this answer the officers were ordered to seat her in a chair and to tie her hands behind her back. Then her left foot was made bare. An iron slipper, red-hot, was fitted to her foot and continued to burn her to the bone until she fainted. When the attending physician proclaimed her life to be in danger, she was again sent to prison. On August 19 she was again brought out and whipped. The account as given in the newspaper finally concluded that as she was unable to continue the agonies, she consented to subscribe as they would

have her. Whereupon she affixed her signature and was finally liberated, destitute and deformed.

An abstract of the well-known sentence of the Inquisition at Rome, against Galileo Galilei, was published in the Boston *Weekly News-Letter*.[55] From the London *Post* of April 15, 1747, the same paper[56] published the story of the attempt made by Cardinal Spinelli,[57] Archbishop of Naples, to establish the Inquisition in his archdiocese, stressing the manner of its defeat by the king and royal chamber of St. Clara. Because the event was "so considerable," the newspaper hoped that a full and authentic account of that transaction was acceptable to its readers. According to the newspaper, a commotion arose through the city when the populace somehow got word of the intentions of Cardinal Spinelli. Such was their rage that the Neapolitans wanted to burn his house; none would salute him; and when he offered to bestow his benedictions as he passed up the street, everyone would bid him "to go to H - - L with his blessings." Eventually the king issued an ordinance banning the cardinal's attempt. This "wise ordinance" was met with the public's approval and all Neapolitans resolved to grant His Majesty a gift of 300,000 ducats as a token of their joy and gratitude.

So "cruel and painful" were the punishment and penalties imposed by the Inquisition that Archibald Bower[58] told the motives for his

[55] March 27, 1746. The sentence was reprinted from the Westminster *Journal*, November 2, 1745.

[56] July 30, 1747.

[57] Giuseppe Spinelli (1694-1763). From 1734 he was Archbishop of Naples and made a cardinal in 1735. In 1745 he tried in vain to introduce the Inquisition in Naples. In 1753 he was transferred to Rome.

[58] Archibald Bower (1686-1766), was the author of a *History of the Popes*. He was born near Dundee and admitted in Rome to the Society of Jesus on December 9, 1706. He studied in Rome and Arezzo and he was sent to Florence, Macerata, and other cities in Italy. The turning-point in Bower's career was his removal from Macerata to Perugia, and his flight from the latter city to England in 1726. His enemies said that this step was taken in consequence of his having been detected in an amour with a nun, but he himself ascribed it to the "hellish proceedings of the court of the Inquisition at Macerata," in which he said that he was counsellor or judge. He was greatly impressed with the horrible cruelties committed in the torture-chamber, particularly on two gentlemen, whose stories, as well as his own escape, he related in detail

leaving office as secretary of the court of the Inquisition at Macerata in Italy and described the difficulties he met with in escaping from that city. In his account, as reported in the New York *Evening Post*,[59] Bower described in great detail the tortures two persons suffered at the hands of the Inquisition. One unhappy man, despite his protestations of innocence, was striped naked and tortured and tormented miserably. After he was returned to the dungeon, word came from Rome that this was not the man in quest and that they need give themselves no further trouble about him, for the true offender had been found. Another case was that of a nobleman who had criticized the mortifying garb worn by the friars of the Capuchin Order. The nobleman was arrested and tortured. The inquisitor-general ordered his nude body to be raised in such a way that at the slightest movement all his bones were dislocated. As though this punishment was not enough, the orders were to let him drop, by releasing the rope, from the ceiling. This was done. The nobleman crashed to the floor, distorted and bleeding, and finally died. After witnessing all this, Bower obtained temporary release from his superiors, and after many months of hardships and semi-starvation, he landed safely at Dover, England, "a free and Protestant country."

Toward the end of the century when the Inquisition was relaxed, articles appeared in the public press showing how it had become less severe and cruel. The kindly nature of Pius VI was stressed in some articles. An article in the Salem *Gazette*[60] revealed that the

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in an "Answer to a Scurrilous Pamphlet" (1757). Another account had been previously published by Richard Baron in 1750, professing to contain the substance of the relation which Bower gave of his escape to Dr. Hill, chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury *(Six letters from Bower to Father Sheldon)*. The title of Baron's pamphlet was, *A Faithful Account of Mr. Archibald Bower's Motives for leaving his Office of Secretary to the Court of Inquisition, including also a relation of the horrid treatment of an innocent gentleman, who was driven mad by his suffering, in this bloody court, and of a nobleman who expired under his tortures. To both which inhuman and shocking scenes the author was an eye-witness.* The narrative published by Bower thirty-one years after the date of his alleged escape conflicts with the versions previously given by him orally, and is of doubtful veracity. He later became a member of the Church of England. *Dictionary of National Biography*, II, 956-959.

[59] December 9, 1751.

[60] February 8, 1785.

former severity of the Inquisition had abated in all parts, and had greatly diminished in Bologna, a city then subject to the Pope. As an illustration it cited the case of a man who in the month of September, 1784, in conformity to the judgment of the inquisitorial tribunal, was seen riding upon an ass through the principal street of the town. The man carried a paper, on which were written the crimes of which he stood accused, viz., superstition, sorcery, and compact with the devil. He was sixty years of age, and had been nine months confined in the prison of the Inquisition.

In a letter[61] from Rome a spectator described one of the most bloody tragedies ever enacted in that metropolis since the days of Cola di Rienzi.[62] The awful spectacle, however, was received with "universal applause," according to the writer, who described a "brutal attack" on Cardinal Turlone[63] by a mob outside the Vatican. After cutting his nose and ears off, and mangling him in the most shocking manner, the mob dragged him to Monte Tribuno, where they hung him on a gibbet fifty feet high. The writer explained that while Cardinal Turlone was in office, about 20,000 people were shut up and actually starved within the walls of the Inquisition.

In an article intended to demonstrate the good nature of Pius VI, a writer told the story of a Scotch Presbyterian who, fearing that the Inquisition and other religious persecutions of Protestants would again be let loose, suffered mental agony and decided to make a journey to Rome to convert the Pope to the Protestant religion. On his arrival in Rome, according to the story published in the *American Magazine*,[64] the object of his mission was discovered and his interview was, therefore, constantly delayed. Finally, one day, seeing the Pope in St. Peter's, in the midst of a religious ceremony, the Presbyterian "yelled at the Pope," calling him vile names. Thereupon the Swiss guards arrested him and his death was considered. However, the Pope, who intervened in his behalf, ordered that he be well treated and that he be returned unharmed on the first ship leaving for England.

[61] *Massachusetts Gazette*, May 11, 1787, from a late London paper.

[62] Nicola Gabrini, known as Cola Rienzi (1313?-1354).

[63] It has not been possible to identify the cardinal named in this letter.

[64] New York (October, 1788), 796-799.

IV. Church Ceremonies and Practices.

Americans were naturally interested in the ceremonies and practices of the Catholic Church and several articles on the subject appeared in the public press of the period. A short but interesting account of what occurred at Rome from the death of a Pope to the election and coronation of a new one was published in the Boston *Weekly News-Letter*.[65] The article gave a brief summary of the main events, e. g., the announcement of the death to the whole city of Rome by ringing a bell in the capitol, which was rung only upon this occasion; the ceremony concerning the removal of the Pope's ring; the embalming of the body; its removal to St. Peter's; the lying in state; and the funeral obsequies lasting nine days. When these obsequies were nearly over, according to this article, the foreign ambassadors exhorted all the cardinals to choose a worthy successor. Describing in detail the meeting of the Sacred College and the conclave, the article pointed out that no official business was transacted during the vacancy. Almost forty years later, in 1769, on the occasion of the death of Clement XIII[66] and the election of his successor, Clement XIV, the *American Magazine*[67] published another account of the ceremony of the Pope's coronation. According to the writer, in connection with the ceremony which took place in Rome on June 4, 1769, with the usual solemnities, there were public rejoicings and illuminations for two days. The ceremonies attending the canonization of Sts. Vincent de Paul and Juliana Falconieri in the Basilica of St. Peter were described in the New York *Weekly Journal*.[68]

An "uncommon church ceremony" which was described as "extremely grand and remarkable" was contained in a letter from Rome dated December 27, 1749.[69] The correspondent stated that the Pope,[70]

[65] August 27, 1730.

[66] Carlo Rezzonico, Clement XIII (1693-1769), was born in Venice. He was appointed a cardinal in 1737 and in 1743 made Bishop of Padua; elected Pope in 1758. He was succeeded by Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli, Clement XIV (1705-1774).

[67] (1769), 318.

[68] December 20, 1736.

[69] New York *Evening Post*, May 7, 1750.

[70] In 1749 the Pope was Benedict XIV.

accompanied by all the prelates, repaired from the Quirinal to the Vatican. Clothed in his pontifical vestments, he proceeded to the Sistine Chapel, accompanied by high dignitaries of the Church and the foreign ministers. At the portico of St. Peter, which was adorned with very fine tapestry, the Pope took his place on the throne. Then from Cardinal Besozzi,[71] His Holiness received the golden hammer with which he was to open the holy gate. Later, descending from his throne, with lighted taper in one hand and the hammer in the other, he knocked at the gate which had not been opened since the last jubilee. Before giving the first blow, the Pope said, "Aperite mihi portas justitiae;" and then gave two more strokes, repeating the words relative to this action. While the masonry was being removed by the workmen, the penitentiaries washed the gate with holy water. Holding the cross in one hand and the burning taper in the other, His Holiness first sang the *Te Deum* and then entered the church by the holy gate.

At about this time, three cardinals left their palaces, each with three coaches. There followed six other coaches, each drawn by six horses, in which went the prelates, the nobility, and the gentry of the retinue, attended by a number of domestics in superb liveries. The group then proceeded to the churches of San Paolo, Santa Maria Maggiore, and San Giovanni di Laterano, where each respectively performed the ceremony of the opening of the gates similar to that which was held at San Pietro. During the ceremonies all the bells in the city were rung, and a triple discharge was made of the artillery from the Castle of Sant'Angelo; and in the evening there was a "grand supper" at the Vatican which was attended by the cardinals.

A curious incident involving a young Englishman who instead of kissing the Pope's toe, shook hands with him, was reported in a letter from Rome.[72] According to the writer, the Pope,[73] who was "a lively sensible man," and acquainted with the sentiments of Protestants and Englishmen, respecting his sacred toe and hallowed

[71] Gioacchino Besozzi (1679-1755), Milanese nobleman, was created a cardinal in 1743.

[72] *Massachusetts Gazette*, September 1, 1786.

[73] In 1786 the Pope was Giovanni Angelo Braschi (Pius VI).

slipper, never permitted Englishmen to kiss either. All the Pope would allow were two or three bendings of the knee as they approached him. However, according to the correspondent, a young "John Bull" during an audience with His Holiness, attempted to kneel, but to prevent it, the Pope suddenly stretched out his arm at full length towards his visitor. Mistaking the cause, "John" pushed on, believing his hand was offered in good fellowship, and shook it heartily. This incident, according to the writer, occasioned much mirth at Rome, in which it was believed the Pope had his share, for he knew the world too well to have behaved on such an occasion as some of his "insolent predecessors" would have done. Instead Pius VI took marked notice of the young "John," conversing with him at length about England.

The question concerning the celibacy of the clergy was discussed in the New York *Daily Advertiser,*[74] in an article predicting that the celibacy of the "Romish" clergy was shortly to be abolished in Germany, as it would be "in all probability, in all the Catholic countries of Europe." If this scheme, which had been long in agitation, could be effected, the author believed that Christianity was not far from that period when the names of sects and schisms would be forgotten. The *Courier de Florence,* from which the *Daily Advertiser* partly derived its intelligence, observed very seriously, that the best expedient for the Roman Pontiff was to take the initiative, urgently advising the Pope to get married! The writer suggested that there were several kings from among whose sisters His Holiness could select a wife. In this manner the writer thought that the Pope could strengthen his interest and extend his power. If the Pope married, concluded the writer, the tiara, which was ready to fall, would be replaced by a crown, and the king of Rome would acquire a weight not only in the political balance of Italy but of Europe.

A bitter attack against the Holy Father for having elevated a follower of Napoleon, the Abbé Maury,[75] to the cardinalate appeared

[74] December 5, 1789.

[75] Jean Siffrein Maury (1746-1817), was from 1784 a member of the French Academy. He was a famous political orator. After 1792 he was in Rome; he was a follower of Napoleon and he was from 1810 to 1814 Archbishop of Paris. In 1815 he was arrested in Rome for six months.

in the *American Apollo*[76] and the *New American Magazine*[77] published an account of the amazing riches and curiosities of the chapel or holy house of Loretto in Italy.

V. Character of the Popes

A letter from Rome dated April 2, 1721, and published in the *American Weekly Mercury*[78] reported the death of Pope Clement XI, John Francis Albani.[79] After giving the main facts of his life, the writer of the letter stated that "to the world his [the Pope's] character was that of one who affected peace." He was generally beloved, but was naturally timorous and frequently terrified into measures contrary to his own and the interests of the Papal States. As to his person, the writer concluded, the Pope was of a graceful presence, and his accomplishments though not brilliant were not too obscure.

A description of the character of the "excellent" Ganganelli,[80] the late Pope, and reasons for choosing the present Pontiff appeared in the *American Magazine*.[81] According to the writer of this article, the reigning Pope, who had assumed the name of Pius VI, was a tall, well-made man about sixty-seven years of age, but retained in his countenance all the ruddiness of a much earlier period of life. He stressed the ceremonies of religion much more than had his predecessor Ganganelli. The late Pope, the article pointed out, had been a man of moderation, good sense, and simplicity of manners. Unable to go through all the ostentatious parade which his station required without reluctance and disgust, however remiss he might have been with regard to the etiquette of his spiritual functions, the writer concluded that everybody acknowledged his diligence and activity in

[76] I (Boston, 1792), 364.

[77] Woodbridge, New Jersey, (Dec., 1758), pp. 299-302; (Jan., 1759), pp. 322-323.

[78] (Philadelphia), August 31, 1721.

[79] Giovanni Francesco Albani, Pope Clement XI (1649-1721), was born in Pesaro. He was made a cardinal in 1690, and in 1700 elected Pope. In 1705 he issued the Bull *Vineam Domini* against the Jansenists.

[80] Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli, Clement XIV (1705-1774).

[81] (New York), (Oct., 1788), 795-796.

promoting the temporal good of his subjects. His Holiness did all in his power to revive trade and to encourage manufactures and industry of every kind.

The *American Universal Magazine*[82] published seven wise sayings of Pope Pius II.[83] The most important ones were: (1) a covetous man never pleases anybody, but by his death; (2) a citizen should look upon his family as subjects to the city—the city to his country—the country to the world—and the world to God; (3) as all rivers run into the sea, so do all vices into the court; (4) it is necessary that he who governs many, should himself be ruled by many; (5) the laws have power over the commonality, but are feeble to the greater ones; (6) a covetous man is never satisfied with money, so a learned man should not be with knowledge.

Anecdotes concerning Pope Pius VI appeared in two different magazines.[84] While Pius VI was passing through a street of Rome, carried along with a splendour suitable to his dignity, the voice of a young woman was heard from one of the windows which were crowded with curious spectators. "Quanto è bello! quanto è bello! cried she in a moment of enthusiasm. An old woman, in haste to correct anything that might appear too profane in this exclamation, replied, with her hands joined, and her eyes lifted up towards heaven: "Tanto è bello, quanto è santo." It was said that such a compliment gave Pius VI more secret satisfaction than all the incense lavished upon him by the prelates at the altar, and all the genuflexions of the Sacred College.

VI. Description of Rome and Other Papal Cities.

In 1786 and 1787 Dr. James Edward Smith,[85] a botanist, made a tour of the continent which he later described in a three-volume

[82] (Philadelphia), May 15, 1797, 239.

[83] Eneas Silvio Piccolomini, Pius II (1405-1464).

[84] *The New Star,* (Concord, New Hampshire), June 6, 1797, p. 72; *Monthly Magazine and American Review,* (New York, 1800), II, 465.

[85] Sir James Edward Smith (1759-1828), a botanist, born at Norwich. In 1781 he was sent to the University of Edinburgh to study medicine, but devoted himself to botany also. In June, 1786, he started on a continental tour, and after obtaining a medical degree at Leyden he travelled through Holland, France,

work entitled *A Sketch of a Tour on the Continent in the years 1786 and 1787*. The review published in the *American Monthly Review*[86] stressed the churches, the statues, the sculptures, and the carnivals of Rome which the author found "interesting but not novel." Father Jacquier,[87] an editor of and commentator on Newton, was the most interesting person the author met in Rome.

In his remarks on the antiquities of Rome and its environs, a writer named Lumisden described[88] subterranean Rome, or the catacombs, which were numerous around the city. The entry to them was within a church. The writer described them as "a kind of labyrinths of incredible lengths, with many branches running off in different directions," adding that there were even stories above stories of them, so that without torches, and a good guide, it was unsafe to examine them. It was dangerous to visit them in the summer season, the author pointed out, as the cold was so much greater than that of the external air. The writer was informed that they were made by primitive Christians, to which they retired in time of persecution. However, he thought it more probable that they were dug by the ancient Romans so that the earth and materials taken from them could be used to erect vast buildings, without destroying the surface of the ground; they also served as burying places for the ordinary people and slaves who had no private tombs.

Other places of interest within the Papal States were visited and described in American magazines of the period. A description of

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Italy, and Switzerland. His tour is fully described in *Sketch of a Tour on the Continent*, 3 vols. (London, 1793); 2nd edition, 1807. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVIII, 469-472.

[86] (Philadelphia, 1795), pp. 127-135, 347-355.

[87] François Jacquier (1711-1788), was a French mathematician. He was born at Vitry-le François. In 1727 he entered the order of Minimes, studying particularly mathematics, Greek, and Hebrew. He obtained in 1733, the professorship of sacred scripture at the College of Propaganda, Rome; in 1746 the professorship of experimental physics at Collegio Romano; in 1773 the professorship of mathematics in the same college. He was corresponding member of several academies. He wrote *Institutiones philosophicae*, 6 vols., (Rome, 1757), *Trattato intorno la sfera*, (Parma, 1775), and numerous other scientific dissertations published in several collections. *La Grande Enciclopédie*, XX, 1181.

[88] *New York Magazine*, II (Nov. 1797), 584-588.

the scenery in and around Tivoli and of the Cascade, which impressed the author, was published at Boston in the *Massachusetts Magazine*.[89]

Several descriptions of St. Peter's and Rome were contained in American magazines of the period. The *Lady's Magazine*[90] of Philadelphia and the *Massachusetts Magazine*[91] published descriptions of Rome extracted from the well-known work of the Abbé Dupaty.[92] In his description the French author stated that the square before St. Peter's was one of the most handsome in Europe, describing the vast enclosure surrounded by a portico, the two hundred colossal statues, the water fountains, and the magnificent obelisk. In tracing the history of St. Peter's, the author found that it was projected by the vanity of Julius II[93] and undertaken by the genius of Leo X[94] and at last finished by Sixtus V.[95] Dupaty said that it was impossible to give an accurate idea of the sensation that filled the soul on entering the church for the first time and finding oneself "amid enormous pillars, on an extensive pavement; at the sight of all those paintings, statues, mausolea, altars, and under that dome—within the vast circumference, increasingly and for ever and ever, more and more, year by year, additional ornaments of granite, gold, marble bronze, and canvas."

A writer who identified himself as "a modern traveller" gave a

[89] V (April, 1793), 197.

[90] I (1792), 236-237.

[91] IV (Mar., 1792), 182.

[92] Charles Marguerite Jean Baptiste Mercier-Dupaty, (1746-1788) was a French litterateur and magistrate, born in La Rochelle. To recover his health, in 1785 he visited Italy. He wrote *Lettres sur l'Italie en 1785.* (Paris, 1788). Other editions of this work were published in 1792, 1796, and 1797. *Travels through Italy, in a series of letters; written in the year 1785,* by President Dupaty. Translated from the French by an English Gentleman. (London, 1788). *Sentimental letters on Italy: written in French . . . in 1785, published in Rome in 1788,* and translated the same year by J. Povoleri, 2 vols., (London, 1789).

[93] Giuliano Della Rovere, Julius II, (1443-1513). He was created a cardinal 1479 and elected Pope in 1503. In 1506 he laid the cornerstone of St. Peter's.

[94] Leo X was Pope from 1513 to 1522.

[95] Felice Peretti, Sixtus V (1521-1590), was born in Grottammare. In 1532 he became a Franciscan. In 1557 a severe inquisitor at Venice, and after 1560 at Rome. He was made a cardinal in 1570 and in 1585 was elected Pope.

description of Rome in the *Boston Magazine*.[96] According to the author, Rome in 1767 was a large city with a population of 159,760 inhabitants. In describing St. Peter's, the writer depicted it as the first church and the first building in the world. Next to St. Peter's, he found that the two finest churches in the city were Santa Maria Maggiore and St. John Lateran. The writer was also impressed with the Vatican, the Borghese palace, the museum begun by Pope Ganganelli, the fountains of Rome, the Villa Albani which he described as "a temple of taste and riches." To give the reader an idea of the magnificence of the Roman nobility, the author related that he was present on March 27, 1769, when the owner of the palace of the Corsini, near the Palacio Farnese, gave the emperor a ball and a hot supper, of 500 covers, for which the Prince Corsini told him that he had borrowed neither plate, linen, nor china.

Two earthquakes which were felt in Rome in October, 1785, were reported in the New York *Daily Advertiser*[97] and in the *Maryland Journal-Baltimore Advertiser*.[98] According to the Rome correspondent, most of the inhabitants of the city, being awakened at the same moment, fled in the "utmost consternation from their houses." At Terni and Spoleto, several buildings were demolished and several persons were buried in the ruins. According to the report, the Pope ordered prayers to avert a repetition of the calamity and all public amusements were suspended. A letter dated Rome August 12, 1788, described a conflagration in the territories of Prince Chigi which extended to within twenty miles of Rome. Had not the writer been near "the fatal spot" of that "wonderful disaster," he would hardly have thought it credible. He reported the complete desolation of the area for twelve miles so that not even a vestige of a tree or even a vine was to be seen in that extensive district.[99]

VII. Roman Society.

Several articles appeared on the customs and manners of Roman society. Chapters from the Abbé Dupaty's *Travels* were translated

[96] (April, 1785), 123-125.

[97] New York *Daily Advertiser*, January 14, 1786.

[98] *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*, January 24, 1786.

[99] *Ibid.*, January 2, 1789.

and published in the *Massachusetts Magazine*.[100] Although quite favorably impressed with conditions in Florence, Dupaty was critical of what he saw in the Papal States. On the road to Rome he met pilgrims and beggars, and he noted conditions which were far from the glorious memories he had of Roman greatness and of the triumphal soldiers of Rome who used to march along the road. So pitiful was the sight that the author admitted to have shed a tear on seeing Rome, for it was like a desert, announced only by the tomb of Nero. He found the populace in a wretched condition, which caused the author to add that they were "worms that devour the carcass." He was keenly interested in the history of Rome, recalling three periods of Roman history: of Augustus, that of Leo X, and the Rome of the reigning Pope.

In another issue the *Massachusetts Magazine*[101] published other extracts from Dupaty's *Travels* on Italian beauty and on the Roman ladies. The author observed that nature seldom attained beauty in Rome except in the outline of the countenance and the hand. Nevertheless Roman women had a beauty of forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, ears, and neck, which anyone could readily perceive. The author believed that the Roman woman lacked "that grace which charms and inspires love." It was impossible to discover in her "either pain or pleasure passing over that unvaried brow." Nothing was rarer than to meet a face in Rome that moved, or interested, or that bespoke a soul, according to Dupaty. He noted that beauty among the Roman women faded very rapidly. A Roman girl of fifteen, he wrote, was in full beauty, but as she did not cultivate it by any exercise, slept too much, and took no method to preserve it, her figure was soon disproportionate; she became too plump. However, the Roman woman took pride in displaying her "handsome shoulders." Dupaty believed that the beauty of Roman women decayed rapidly because she was always kept shut up; she was always in the shade. The bud of beauty, like other flowers, Dupaty concluded, required the rays of the sun.

[100] II (July, 1790), 427-428; II (Aug., 1790), 458-460.
[101] (Jan., 1793).

In an article "On the dress, ornaments, etc., of the Roman ladies,"[102] Dr. William Alexander observed that the Roman ladies of his time could not boast very much of knowing more about the art of the toilette than those of the days of antiquity. Discussing each article of the toilette separately, Alexander attempted to prove that the Romans had most of the articles extant in his time. Like the old Roman ladies, those of his time dyed their hair, had paint on their faces or lips, took milk baths, had ladies in attendance, and wore high heels.

Passages on Roman society extracted from Thomas Holcroft's translation of Stolberg's[103] *Travels through . . . Italy and Sicily,* were printed in the *Monthly Magazine and American Review* of New York.[104] Stolberg pointed out that the education of the daughters of the nobility was "wretched;" hence, domestic happiness was rare. From the bad education of the women, domestic virtues were injured, and the poison of their vices shed itself among their inferiors, whose passions were violent to excess. However, Stolberg was convinced that the Romans were rather led astray and bewildered than addicted to vice by nature. Where the climate inflamed passions, which were neither restrained by education nor crushed by law, they must rise higher and burn with greater excess than in any other country. Although the population of Rome was estimated at 168,000, yet, according to Stolberg, about 500 persons were murdered annually. The author did not believe that the Romans could be justly accused of robbery. The Roman stabbed his enemy but did not rob him. Anger, jealousy, and revenge were frequent causes of murder. The Catholic religion, according to Stolberg, which was ill understood, encouraged the practice. He noted that the people

[102] *Weekly Magazine,* I (1798), 336-339.

[103] Count Friedrich Leopold Stolberg (1750-1819), was a German poet. In 1791 he was appointed president of the Lübeck episcopal court at Eutlin; he resigned this office in 1800, and retiring to Münster in Westphalia, there joined, with his whole family, the eldest daughter only excepted, the Roman Catholic Church. He wrote: *Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Sicily,* translated from the German . . . by T. Holcroft, 2 vols., (London, 1796-97). The title of the German original was *Reise in Deutschland, der Schweiz, Italien und Sicilien* (Königsburg und Leipzig, 1794).

[104] I (1799), 385-387.

had not lost a sense of the ancient grandeur of Rome. To illustrate this point the author narrated that in a recent visit to Rome the Queen of Naples was received with great applause at the theatre. Self-forbearance induced her to make signs to the people to cease their loud clapping and their shouts of welcome. Stolberg noted that the audience took this very ill, and the next day a person of his acquaintance heard a woman say to another: "Did you hear how the foreign queen despised our people last night? She must surely have forgotten that many queens before now have been brought in chains to Rome."

A note of interest concerning the Jewish population of Rome appeared in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*.[105] According to the writer, the Jewish residents in Rome offered to the Pope an enormous sum of money if His Holiness would allow them to turn the stream of the Tiber and clear the bed of the river, presuming that they would then find immense riches in statuary, coins, and other articles. This, however, was strongly opposed by some of the cardinals who presented a memorial to the Pope, stating that they believed the project impracticable of execution, and even if it were practicable, there was great danger of a plague in consequence of the stench that would arise in the hot season of the year from the bed of the river. On the basis of this memorial the Pope rejected the scheme.

The arrival in Rome of the corpse of the late Charles Stuart, Count of Albany, was reported in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser*.[106] According to a letter dated Rome, February 26, 1788, the body was removed from the coffin which contained many royal things —robes, a sceptre crown, and a sword. The body was then placed in a coffin of cyprus wood. Four Masses were said in honor of the late count.

In concluding this brief summary of the literature on Rome and the Catholic Church as found in representative political and literary gazettes of eighteenth-century America, it should be pointed out that although further search on the subject will undoubtedly yield additional data and facts, the writer feels confident that the spirit and tone

[105] June 17, 1788.
[106] April 29, 1788.

of these articles would not substantially alter the mental picture and attitude the average American of that period had of the Catholic Church as a temporal and spiritual institution. If we bear in mind the important fact that up to the outbreak of the American Revolution colonial newspapers and magazines were nothing but a reflection of the ideas and opinions of the British press, we can the more readily understand its pronounced anti-Catholic views and opinions. Not only were unfriendly items almost the only ones printed on the Catholic Church, but there was always a conscious attempt to discredit the spiritual force of Catholicism. Articles on the War of the Spanish Succession, the Jesuits, the celibacy of the clergy, the wiles of popery, the cruelties practised by the "Romish" clergy, the horrors of the Inquisition, its cruel and painful punishments, and warnings against Jesuitical conversions reflected the well-known English opposition to Catholicism. Unfortunately, often times the articles were couched in terms of ridicule and sarcasm, lacking in moderation and good taste. Among the ecclesiastical ceremonies described were those dealing with the death of the Pope, the formalities of electing a new Pontiff, and his coronation. Some of the articles described the artistic wealth of the churches of Romes, especially that of St. Peter's. The manners and customs of Roman society were usually taken from accounts of well-known travel books, such as Dupaty's and Stolberg's. Although anti-Catholic feeling was somewhat mitigated during and after the Revolution, still the magazines and reviews—with but few exceptions—seemingly aimed only at spreading and intensifying the opposition to Catholicism both as a spiritual and a temporal force.

HOWARD R. MARRARO

Columbia University

MISCELLANY

William Hundleby's Account of the Anagni Outrage*

Although the story of the attack of September 7, 1303, upon Pope Boniface VIII in his native town of Anagni has been told often enough by competent historians[1] and the background has been sketched in the many studies which trace the growth of the tension between the Pontiff and King Philip IV of France [2], until recently the best informed of our sources for the Anagni incident[3] has been available only in the form found in the British Museum Ms Royal 14 C I, fol. 12[4].

* The writer wishes to express his gratitude to the Library Committee and to Sir Charles W. C. Oman, Librarian of All Souls College, Oxford, for permission to publish the document and to the Clarendon Press for having made and forwarded the photostat.

[1] The best accounts are those of Robert Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg-i-B., 1898) and of P. Fedele in *Bullettino dell' istituto storico italiano*, 41 (1921), 195-232. Other good studies include: Knöpfler in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 102 (1888), 1-11; J. v. Döllinger: *Akademische Vorträge* (Munich, 1891), III, 223-244; Ernest Renan: 'Guillaume de Nogaret' in *Études sur la politique religieuse du règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1899), pp. 1-250; R. Newhall in the *Catholic Historical Review*, VII (1921), 277-295; U. Mariani in *La Ciudad de Dios* (Madrid), 147 (1926), 18-27, 181-190, and the relative chapters in H. K. Mann, *The Lives of the Popes in the Middle Ages*, XVIII (London, 1932), and in T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933). Mercedes Pieri, *L'attentato contra Bonifacio VIII* (Milan, 1903), was not obtainable.

[2] Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380* (Paris, 1940), pt. I, 378-412, and Victor Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* (Paris, 1939), I, 149-208, give excellent summaries. There are fuller treatments in August Baumhauer, *Philipp der Schöne und Bonifaz VIII in ihrer Stellung zur französischen Kirche* (Freiburg-i-B., 1920); Pocquet du Haut-Jussé in *Mélanges Albert Dufourcq* (Paris, 1932), pp. 73-108; Sister Mary Mildred Curley, *The Conflict between Pope Boniface VIII and King Philip IV* (Washington, 1927), and Georges Digard, *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304* (Paris, 1936, 2 vols.); these latter two have chapters on Anagni.

[3] The fullest list of sources is that of R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, pp. 66-74, although he has missed the Troyes Ms edited in the *Bulletin du comité historique des monuments écrits de l'histoire de France: Histoire* (Paris), IV (1853), 57-61. Since Holtzmann's study, several of the Italian sources, v. g., the Orvieto and Parma Chronicles, Stefaneschi, Ferreto, Compagni, and the *Storie Pistoresi*, have appeared in critical editions.

[4] First edited by Henry T. Riley, *Willelmi Rishanger . . Chronica et Annales* (Rolls Series, London, 1865), pp. 483-491; subsequently by Lettenhove in the *Revue des questions historiques*, XI (1872), 511-520, and by Liebermann in Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores, XXVIII (Hanover, 1888), 621-626.

In 1931, however, Walter Holtzmann called attention[5] to a more perfect transcript of the same which exists at Oxford in the Ms All Souls 39, fol. 117b-120b. Therein the account—which heretofore has been known simply as that of the 'curtisan'—appears as the letter of a Master William of Hundleby and bears the date of September 27, 1303. It is addressed to John Dalderby, Bishop of Lincoln, 1300-1320[6], for whom William served as procurator at the Roman Curia.

Holtzmann's search for a copy of the letter in Bishop Dalderby's *Liber memorandorum*, still preserved at Lincoln, failed in its purpose, but it did bring to light further information about Master William. On October 18, 1300, he was commissioned representative of the bishop "in omnibus causis et negotiis ad Romanam curiam devolutis," and on the next day set out for Rome. Once or twice again his name occurs; then, on December 23, 1303, a Master Henry de Insula is appointed to fill the post vacated at the Curia, "magistro Willelmo de Hundelby clerico procuratore . . . suum diem claudente extremum"[7]. Thus it would seem that among the last acts of William's life was this account of his to Bishop Dalderby in England.

Unfortunately, Holtzmann did not edit the new text but contented himself with giving a list of readings wherein the All Souls Ms differs from the Royal Ms. Upon comparison with the ms, Holtzmann's variants are found incomplete and to some extent inaccurate. In the following pages, therefore, the All Souls text appears in its entirety[8], with an apparatus listing the divergent readings of the Royal Ms (=R) and those of the chronicle attributed to William Rishanger (=W)[9] which will be of assistance eventually in establishing the definitive text of the Hundleby letter. The few emendations which are called for have been placed in italics. To the Latin text there is joined an English translation and commentary; into the English version alone have the commentary references been introduced.

William's letter has long been recognized as the account of an eyewitness to the events described. Unquestionably, it is the most colorful of all narratives of the Anagni incident; in it one glimpses a very human side of the *magnanimo* Boniface VIII.

[5] In *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931), pp. 492-507.

[6] On Dalderby, cf. the *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIII, 383-384, and A. G. Little — F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians, c. A. D 1282-1302*, (Oxford, 1934), p. 73.

[7] *Festschrift Albert Brackmann*, 494-495.

[8] For a description of the Ms All Souls 39, cf. Henry O. Coxe, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Library of All Souls' College* (Oxford, 1842), pp. 11-12.

[9] In Henry T. Riley, *Willelmi Rishanger . . Chronica et Annales*, Rolls Series, (London, 1865), pp. 216-221; cf. *Speculum*, XXI (1946), 28 n.

117 b. Memorandum quod anno domini M° CCC° tercio circa festum nativitatis beate Marie contigit casus, qui subscribitur, de Bonifatio papa, prius vocato magister Benedictus de Anagnia, anno papatus sui octavo, secundum quod quidam magister Willelmus de Hundelby, Lincolniensis diocesis, procurator tunc in curia Romana domini I., Dei gratia, Linc. episcopi, dicto domino suo episcopo tunc existenti in Anglia *scripsit*[a]:

[a] *om ms; R om entire preface; cf. Commentary No. 1.*

Ecce[b], reverende pater, in vigilia[b] nativitatis beate Marie[c] *proxime*[d] *preterita*[d] in[e] aurora[e] venit ad[f] Anagniam[f] subito et inopinate magnus exercitus hominum armatorum ex parte regis Francie et etiam ex parte duorum cardinalium Columpnensium dampnatorum. Qui ad portas Anagnie[g] venientes, ipsas portas apertas invenerunt, et villam ingressi, statim dederunt insultum palacio pape et etiam[h] palacio marchionis, nepotis pape. Cum[i] clamor super hoc incepisset per villam, homines et mulieres, de lectis surgentes et ostia sua[j] aperientes, et unde clamor huiusmodi processit inquirentes[k], incompertum[l] fuit quod Thayra[m], frater Columpnensium cardinalium dampnatorum, venerat ad villam cum magna potencia sibi adquisita per regem Francie, ut caperet papam et ipsum morti traderet. Quo audito, populus Anagnie, id est communitas[n] ville, pulsata communi campana, convenit in certo loco, et habito
*118 a. tractatu ad invicem aliquantulum prout tunc tempus[o] * permittebat, ordinavit ipsa communitas et constituit sibi unum capitaneum in villa Anagnie, per quem tota communitas sive populus debuit dirigi[p] et[q] etiam[q] gubernari[r]. Qui[s] quidem capitaneus vocatur dominus Adinulphus et est potentissimus homo[s] inter omnes de Campania et, preter hoc, est[t] ipse[t] capitalis inimicus pape. Cui statim maiores tocius populi iurarunt fidelitatem et obedientiam et promiserunt se in omnibus suis[u] iussionibus parere[u].

Et dum ista fuerunt sic tractata[v] et ordinata per populum Anagnie, prefatus Thayra cum suo excercitu hostiliter et acriter dedit insultum ad palacium pape et etiam ad palacium marchionis[w]

[b] adveniente die sabbati videlicet vigilia, *R.* [c] Marie virginis, *R.* [d] anno domini supradicto, *ms; om R.* [e] ecce quod in aurora, *R.* [f] *om R.* [g] Anagum *or* Anagñ, *R, W, generally.* [h] *om R.* [i] cumque, *R.* [j] *om R.* [k] querentes, *R.* [l] compertum, *R.* [m] Schaira, *R, W, generally;* Scarra, *W.* [n] comitas, *R. generally.* [o] temporis, *R.* [p] dirrigi, *ms.* [q] sive, *R.* [r] gubenari, *ms.* [s] et sic factus est dominus Adnulfus ibidem presens capitaneus populi comitatis Anagum. Qui quidem Adnulfus est homo potentissimus, *R.* [t] *om R.* [u] parituros iussionibus suis, *R.* [v] protracta, *R.* [w] machionis, *ms;* nepotis pape, *R;* marchionis nepotis sui, *W.*

ac etiam ad palacia[x] trium cardinalium, scilicet, domini Gentilis penitenciarii pape[y], domini Francisci nepotis pape, et domini Hispani[z]. Sed familiares pape[a] interius existentes[b] et similiter marchio, nepos[c] pape[c], in palacio suo proprio existens cum famulia[d] sua viriliter se defendebant, balistando[e] circumquaque et lapides proiciendo, in tantum quod palacium pape vel palacium marchionis nullo modo potuerunt invadere. Sed palacia trium cardinalium, qui reputabantur specialiter amici pape, per vim et potenciam sunt ingressi et omnia bona ibidem inventa asportarunt[f], et cardinales ipsi a tergo per latrinam vix cum[g] vita[g] evaserunt.

Adhuc[h] durante isto conflictu, supervenit[i] dominus Adinulphus[j], capitaneus ville, adducens secum dominum Reginaldum de Supine, qui est magnus dominus in Campania et etiam[k] inimicus[l] pape capitalis[l], et etiam[m] duos[n] filios domini Iohannis de Chichan.[o], quorum patrem papa tunc tenebat in carcere. Et cum dictus capitaneus cum suis[p] sociis[p] predictis venissent[q] ad Thayram de Columpna et eius excercitus, statim idem capitaneus et socii[r] coniunxerunt se[s] dicto Thayre, eo quod omnes fuerunt inimici capitales pape. Et[t] sic crevit potestas Thayre per ipsum capitaneum et suos socios in tantum[t] quod papa et marchio, nepos eius[u], non potuerunt, ut credebant[v], ipsis diu resistere. Propter quod papa peciit treugas; quas Thayra sibi[w] et nepoti suo marchioni concessit[w] usque ad horam nonam dicte[x] diei in vigilia nat. beate Marie;
*118 b. et * sciendum est[y] quod treuge inceperunt circa horam primam et durarunt[z] usque ad horam nonam, ut predixi.

Durante treuga, papa misit secrete ad populum Anagnie, supplicando eis ut[a] ipsi salvarent vitam ipsius, promittendo[b] eis quod, si sic[c] facerent, ipsos in tantum locupletaret quod omnes suo perpetuo *merito*[d] gauderent. Sed populus respondit[e] quod constituerat et ordinaverat unum capitaneum, scilicet[f] dominum Adinulphum antedictum[f], in quo remansit omnis potestas populi,

[x] *so R;* palacium, *ms.* [y] *om R.* [z] Petri Ispani, *R.*
[a] *om R.* [b] exeuntes, *R.* [c] *om R.* [d] familia, *R.*
[e] balistendo, *R.* [f] asportaverunt, *R.* [g] *om R.* [h] adhec, *ms.*
[i] ecce quidem supervenit, *R.* [j] Adnulphus, *R, W.* [k] *om R.*
[l] c. i. p., *R.* [m] *om R.* [n] duxit, *R.* [o] Chitan., *R, W.*
[p] *so ms, W;* sociis suis, *R.* [q] venisset, *R, W.* [r] socii sui, *R.*
[s] *so ms, W; om R.* [t] et tunc irruerunt in tantum in papam et nepotes, *R;* irruerunt tantum in papam et nepotem suum, *W.*
[u] ipsius, *R.* [v] credebatur, *R;* putabatur, *W.* [w] sibi concessit et nepoti suo, *R, W.* [x] dicti, *R, W.* [y] *om R.*
[z] duraverunt, *R.* [a] *so ms, W;* quod, *R.* [b] et promisit, *R;* promittens, *W.* [c] hoc, *R, W.* [d] *so W; om ms, R.*
[e] respondebat, *R.* [f] predictum, *R.* [g] missi fuerunt nuncii, *R.*

sine quo nichil voluit nec potuit facere populus. Quo audito a papa, hinc inde missum[g] est per nuncios et[g] inter cetera papa supplicavit quod Thayra vellet sibi[h] significare articulos, in quibus fuerat sibi et fratribus[i] suis[i] iniuriatum, et quod paratus fuit iuxta[j] consilium cardinalium sibi emendas facere. Idem vero Thayra respondit quod numquam dimitteret papam vivum[k] nisi faceret hec tria que secuntur: videlicet, quod primo restitueret[l] seu traderet totum thesaurum ecclesie Romane in manus duorum vel trium cardinalium de antiquioribus totius collegii. Item, quod papa postmodum[l] restitueret plene duos cardinales Iacobum et Petrum quos prius dampnaverat, et hoc ad temporalia et spiritualia, et non solum illos cardinales sed etiam[m] omnes alios[n] de sanguine. Item, tertio, quod papa post restitutionem huiusmodi renunciaret papatui et[o] quod corpus pape postmodum esset ad voluntatem ipsius Thayre[p]. Quibus auditis, papa dixit: 'Hoy me, durus est hic sermo!' Et sic intervenerunt nuncii hinc[q] inde quampluries[q] sed nullo modo potuerunt[r] concordare.

Adveniente igitur hora nona, populus[s] exclamavit: 'Ades, ades', quod est vulgare[t] et valet[u] tantum quam[v]: 'Aly, ali'. Cepit exercitus irruere in papam et nepotem suum, at ipsi se[w] viriliter[w] defendebant ut prius. Tandem, quia[x] matrix ecclesia beate Marie Anagnie prestitit eis impedimentum, quo minus potuerunt venire ad palacium pape et[y] cardinalium[y], apposuerunt ignem ad ostia[z] ecclesie, et ipsis ostiis ecclesie totaliter combustis, ingressi sunt ecclesiam homines Thayre[a], et spoliaverunt et derobarunt omnes clericos et laycos et mercenarios ibidem habentes cultellos suos[b] et alia diversa[c] mercimonia ad vendendum, nec[d] dimiserunt
*119 a. * valorem unius[e] quadrantis quam[f] apprehendere potuerunt.

Tandem marchio, nepos pape, perpendens quod se[g] non posset ulterius[gh] defendere, reddidit se dicto Thayre et capitaneo, ita quod vitam ipsius et filii sui et suorum salvarent. Et[i] sic captus est marchio[i] et filius suus unus, alter[j] fugit[k] per privatam[l] cameram[l], et detrusi sunt[m] in carcere. Quo audito, papa lacrimatus est amare. Et cum papa non posset ultra[n] se defendere, per

[h] *om R, W.* [i] *so ms, W;* s. f., *R.* [j] secundum, *R. W.*
[k] habere vitam suam, *R;* vivere, *W.* [l] restitueret-postmodum, *om R, W.*
[m] *om R.* [n] *om R, W.* [o] et quarto, *R.* [p] Tayre, *ms.*
[q] quamplures hinc inde, *R.* [r] poteruunt, *ms.* [s] *om R.*
[t] vulgare ipsorum, *R.* [u] *so R;* vathet?, *ms.* [v] quantum, *R.*
[w] *so ms, W;* v. s., *R.* [x] quod, *R.* [y] *om W.* [z] ostium, *R, W.*
[a] Tayre, *ms.* [b] *om R, W.* [c] *om R, W.* [d] ut non, *R;* ita quod non, *W.* [e] *om R, W.* [f] quem, *R.*
[g] s. u. n. p., *R, W.* [h] ultiuers, *ms.* [i] *om R.* [j] et alter, *R.*
[k] fugiit, *ms.* [l] c. p., *R.* [m] fuerunt, *R.* [n] ulterius, *R.*

Thayram et suos ruptis et[o] ostiis et fenestris *palacii*[p] *pape per plura loca*[p], ac[q] igne imposito ex alia[r] parte[s], finaliter excercitus, quasi mente[t] furibunda, per vim ad papam est ingressus, et multi ipsorum ipsum[u] papam[u] verbis[v] contumeliosis aggrediebantur et minas graves ei intulerunt; quibus papa non respondit verbum. Et cum papa ad[w] racionem positus est[w], an vellet renunciare[x] papatui[x], dixit constanter quod non, sed[y] cicius perderet caput[y], et dixit suo[z] vulgari: 'E[a] le col, e[b] le cape!', ac[c] si diceret[c]: 'Ecce collum, ecce caput!' Et statim protestatus[d] est coram omnibus quod non[e] renunciaret papatui[e] quamdiu vivere posset. Thayra vero libenter[f] voluit[f] eum[g] interfecisse[g], sed fuit prohibitus[h] per alios[i], in[j] tantum quod malum[k] in corpore non recepit papa[k]. Dominus P. Hispanie[l] assistebat pape in toto isto conflictu et[m] omnes alii familiares pape[n] fugerunt. Et statim, fugatis ostiariis pape et quibusdam interfectis[o], deputati sunt custodes[p] per Thayram et capitaneum ad custodiendum papam in carcere[q]. Et sic captus fuit papa et nepos[r] eius apud Anagniam in vigilia[s] beate Marie predicta[t] circa horam vesperarum[u] et, ut creditur, dominus[v] papa habuit malam noctem.

In[w] primo vero ingressu, ipse excercitus[w] derobarunt papam, cameram suam et thesauriariam[x] suam, vasis[y], vestimentis, ornamentis, auro et argento et omnibus[z] rebus ibidem[a] inventis, ita[b] quod papa remansit tantum[c] pauper sicut[d] Iob post illa[e] tristissima nova sibi nunciata. Item[f], papa aspiciens[g] undique et videns[g], qualiter viri scelerati diviserunt[h] vestimenta sua et omnia bona

[o] *om R.* [p] palacii-loca, *so R, W; om ms.* [q] *so R, W;* sic, *ms.* [r] altera, *R.* [s] *om R.* [t] voce, *R.* [u] *om R.* [v] versis, *ms.* [w] p. esset a. r., *R;* a. r. esset p., *W.* [x] *so ms, W;* p. r., *R.* [y] immo cicius vellet perdere capud, *R, W.* [z] in suo, *R, W.* [a] ec, *R;* et, *W.* [b] ec, *R;* et, *W.* [c] quod est dicere, *R, W.* [d] *so ms, W;* prostratus, *R.* [e] p. nunquam r., *R, W.* [f] v. l., *R, W.* [g] interficere papam, *R;* interfecisse p., *W.* [h] perhibitus, *R.* [i] aliquos, *R;* quosdam, *W.* [j] im, *ms.* [k] m. i. c. p. n. r., *R;* p. m. i. c. n. r., *W.* [l] Ispanus, *R.* [m] sed, *R.* [n] domini p., *R.* [o] *R adds*: et aliis domicellis omnibus tam minoribus quam maioribus deiectis; *W adds*: ejectis tam maj. quam min. de sua familia. [p] custodes pape, *R, W.* [q] *R adds*: videlicet dominus Reginaldus de Suppine et multi alii cum eo; *W adds*: dom. Reg. — cum eodem. [r] marchio nepos, *R.* [s] vigilia nativitatis, *R.* [t] *om R.* [u] septimam, *R;* septima hora diei, *W.* [v] *om R.* [w] sed unum preterivit quod ipse exercitus in primo suo ingressu, *R.* [x] thesauriam, *R, W.* [y] de vasis et, *R.* [z] omnibus aliis, *R, W.* [a] *so ms, W;* ibi, *R.* [b] in tantum, *R.* [c] ita, *R.* [d] sicut fuit, *R.* [e] *om R.* [f] idem, *R.* [g] a. e. v. u., *R.* [h] dimiserunt, *R.* [i] *om R.*

mobilia, maiora[i] et minora[i], abstulerunt, statuentes quidem quis tolleret hoc vel illud, nichil aliud dixit: 'Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit, etc.' Et quisquis[j] rapere vel[k] caperek potuit, abstulit, rapuit et[l] asportavit. Sed de papa nullus tunc[m] plus[m] curavit
*119 b. quam de * Galfrido[n] Ceco de Linc. vel de Petro Stalle[n].

Revera non creditur quod omnes reges in[o] mundo possent tantum de thesauro reddere infra unum annum, quantum fuit asportatum de palacio pape et[p] marchionis et trium cardinalium, et hec[q] quasi in modica[r] hora die[s]. Insuper, *Symon*[t] *Gerardus*[t], mercator pape[u], fuit[v] totaliter[v] derobatus et[w] vix evasit[w]. Et sic fuit[x] papa et nepotes sui sub custodia quorumdam militum et[y] aliorum laycorum a vigilia nativitatis beate Marie usque ad tertium diem sequentem, scilicet[z], usque diem Lune in[a] crastino beate Marie.

Interim vero tractabatur per Thayram et suos, quando[b] vellent ipsum papam morti tradere vel ipsum vivum ad regem Francie transmittere. Audiens populus Anagnie[c], sive[d] communitas ville[d], quod papa morti traderetur, ipsa communitas ville Anagnie fecit quamdam congregacionem[e] prof[f] se in secreto[g] loco[g], ignorantibus capitaneo, Thaira et aliis custodibus pape. Que quidem congregacio sic facta a[h] communitate Anagnie facta fuit in crastino nat.[i] beate Marie circa horam *tertiam*[j].

In illa vero congregacione inter se dixerunt qui[k] venerant[k]: 'Licet papa multa mala fecerit in hac vita, non tamen licet eum occidere in[l] civitate ista quia, si interficiatur inter nos omnes hic, diceretur[l] per universum orbem quod nos sumus rei mortis illius[m], et sic villa ista remanebit interdicta, in tantum quod numquam celebrabitur missa in villa ista et preterea, ex isto facto, tota christianitas surget contra nos et sic erimus destructi[n] omnes[n]. Dixerunt etiam[o] aliqui: "Quid ergo[p] est[p] faciendum?' Responderunt alii: 'Eamus ad palacium pape omnes simul statim[q] et auferamus[q] corpus pape et nepotis[r] sui de manibus custodum[s], et habea-

[i] quicunque, *R.* [k] quicquam, *R.* [l] *om R.* [m] p. t., *R.*
[n] ceo vel alio quocunque ribaldo, *R.* [o] de, *R.* [p] et de palatio, *R.*
[q] hoc, *R.* [r] brevi, *R.* [s] diei, *R.* [t] *so R; om ms.*
[u] domini pape, *R.* [v] t. f., *R.* [w] quod vix evasit cum vita, *R.*
[x] remanserunt, *R;* remansit, *W.* [y] et etiam, *R.* [z] videlicet, *R.*
[a] qui fuit in, *R.* [b] quomodo, *R, W.* [c] Anagñ, *ms; so generally henceforth.* [d] *om R.* [e] advocationem, *R;* facta convocatione, *W.*
[f] per, *R.* [g] quodam loco secreto, *R.* [h] *om R.* [i] *om R.*
[j] *so R;* nonam, *ms; cf Commentary No. 32.* [k] *om R.*
[l] si papa hic in civitate ista inter nos omnes interficiatur dicetur, *R.*
[m] ipsius, *R.* [n] o. d., *R.* [o] *om R.* [p] est ergo, *R.*
[q] e. a. s., *R.* [r] marchionis nepotis, *R.* [s] custodientium, *R.*

mus nos custodiam ipsorum et sic salvabimus vitam ipsorum', adiciendo[t] et iurando quod, si custodes pape primo deputati per capitaneum et Thayram eis resisterent, nullum[u] vivum dimitterent.

Quibus[v] factis[v], absque mora[w] populus Anagnie, id est ipsa communitas, qui[x] continebat, ut[y] creditur, X milia hominum bene armatorum[y], currebat[z] ad palatium pape, ubi incarcerabatur[a], et volentes intrare, non potuerunt propter custodes. Sed tamen, expulsis custodibus et multis[b] ex eis[b] interfectis, ingressus est[c] populus Anagnie ad papam et dixit unus de communitate[d] pro omnibus: 'Pater sancte, nos venimus huc ut vitam vestram salvemus, et ideo volumus habere custodiam persone vestre quousque sedetur ista tempestas.' Quo audito, papa, levatis oculis et
*120a manibus ad celum, regraciatus est Deo et * communitati[e] quia fuit liberatus a morte. Et[f] sic factum est de nepotibus pape[f]. Quibus auditis, Thayra cum excercitu suo de villa recessit, contra populum Anagnie multum provocatus[g] et graviter comminatus est eis. Et sic liberatus est[h] papa per populum Anagnie in crastino nativitatis beate Marie[i], statim[j] post nonam.

Et statim, cum sic[k] liberatus est papa per populum Anagnie[k], populus[l] fecit eum portari[l] de palacio suo seorsum usque in magnam plateam coram toto populo; et tunc papa predicavit lacrimando et ante omnia regraciabatur Deo et omnibus sanctis et populo Anagnie de vita sua. Et[m] multa alia dixit que non possum hic narrare[m], sed[n] inter cetera dixit[o] papa[p]: 'Boni homines et mulieres, vos bene scitis qualiter inimici mei venerunt et abstulerunt mihi[q] omnia[r] bona mea et bona ecclesie, in tantum quod ipsi me[s] dimiserunt ita pauperem sicut fuit Iob. Propter quod vobis dico quod nichil habeo ad comedendum vel bibendum, et adhuc sum ieiunus. Et ideo, si sit aliqua bona mulier que velit[t] me[t] iuvare de clemencia[u] sua in pane vel vino[v], et si panem et vinum non habeat[w],

[t] et adiciebant promittendo, *R.* [u] nullum ex ipsis, *R.* [v] quibus sic factis statim, *R.* [w] maiori deliberatione, *R.* [x] que, *R.* [y] decem m. h. b. a. u. c., *R.* [z] currebant, *R.*; cucurrerunt, *W.* [a] papa stetit in carcere, *R.*; papa servabatur in custodia, *W.* [b] ex eis multis, *R.* [c] *om R.* [d] comitatu, *R.* [e] populo, *R.* [f] similiter comitas liberavit nepotes pape et tenuerunt custodiam illorum penes se, *R.* [g] et in iram p., *R.* [h] fuit, *R.* [i] M. virginis, *R.* [j] circa horam statim, *R.* [k] papa sic liberatus fuisset et populus eum habuisset, R. [l] idem populus ipsum papam fecerat portari, *R.*; p. fecit papam deportari, *W.* [m] tunc dixit quod longum esset hic narrare, *R.* [n] et, *R.* [o] que dixit, *R.* [p] papa talia verba protulit, *R.* [q] *om R, W.* [r] *so ms, W.*; *om R.* [s] *so ms, W.*; *om R.* [t] m. v., *R, W.* [u] elemosina, *R, W.* [v] *so ms, W.*; in vino, *R.* [w] habuerit, *R, W.* [x] velit, *R.*

dum tamen me vellet[x] iuvare[y] de modica aqua[y], ego dabo ei benedicionem Dei et meam; et omnes qui quicquam ad[z] me[z] portaverint, quantumcumque[a] modicum, in subventionem[b] meam, absolvo ab[c] omnibus peccatis[c] suis et a pena et a culpa.' Et omnes clamabant suo[d] more[d]: 'Vive[e], pater sancte!' Et ecce, omnes mulieres ibidem[f] existentes[f], et alie[g] per villam, currebant[h] statim[h] ad palacium pape, offerentes sibi, alique vinum, alique panem, alique aquam, in tantum quod in momento tota camera sua fuit repleta pane, vino[i] et aqua; et quando[j] non inveniebant vasa ad suffitientiam[k], effundebant vinum et aquam in aera[l] camere pape[m] usque ad maximam quantitatem. Et tunc potuerunt omnes ingredi ad papam, boni et mali, parvi et magni, et[n] loqui cum eo[n] sicut cum alio pauperimo[o] homine.

Papa videns quod liberatus fuisset, interim[p] exivit de licencia custodum et benedixit populum et iterum regraciabatur Deo et populo de vita sua, adiciens talia verba: 'Heri nichil habui, sed fui ita pauper sicut unquam[q] fuerat[q] Iob. Modo, benedictus Altissimus! satis est mihi de pane, vino et aqua pro me et vobis omnibus.' Et statim absolvit omnes in communitate[r] existentes a pena et a culpa, hoc excepto, quod derobatores et spoliatores bonorum ecclesie Romane et etiam cardinalium et aliorum de curia non absolvit[s], nisi bona huiusmodi infra triduum reportarent. Verumptamen papa remisit expresse omnibus qui bona sua asportarunt, dum *
*120b. tamen bona illa non fuerint[t] de thesaurario[u] ecclesie Romane, sed de suo proprio thesauro[v]. Et statim protestatus papa coram omnibus quod voluit habere pacem cum Columpnensibus cardinalibus et aliis inimicis suis, et paratus erat restituere[w] ipsos Columpnenses ad temporalia et spiritualia; et hoc fecit proclamare per villam. Et sic stetit papa cum nepotibus suis sub custodia communitatis Anagnie a die crastino nat. beate Marie, circa horam vespertinam, usque diem Veneris proxime[x] sequentem. Interim vero reportata fuerunt illa[y] bona[y] prius ablata, sed non credatis quod omnia[z] sunt plenarie reportata[z].

[y] d. m. a. i., *R.* [z] *om R, W.* [a] quantulumcunque, *R, W.* [b] subvenit., *R.* [c] *so ms, W;* a peccatis, *R.* [d] *om R, W.* [e] viva, *R;* vivas, *W.* [f] que ibidem fuerant, *R.* [g] alie similiter, *R.* [h] s. c., *R.* [i] et vino, *R.* [j] cum, *W;* ipsi, *R.* [k] sufficiendum, *R.* [l] *so ms, R;* area *W.* [m] *so ms, W;* domini p., *R.* [n] et omnes tunc potuerunt loqui cum papa, *R.* [o] paupere, *R.* [p] iterum, *R.* [q] fuerat nunquam, *R.* [r] civitate, *R, W.* [s] absolvebat, *R, W.* [t] fuerunt, *R, W.* [u] thesauro, *R, W.* [v] *om R.* [w] *so ms, W;* restaurare, *R.* [x] proxima, *R.* [y] b. i., *R.* [z] omnia prius ablata plenarie fuerunt restituta quia forte aliqua pecunia tunc exivit de camera pape que nunquam revertetur ad

Die Veneris proxima[a] post[b] nat.[b] beate Marie in mane, papa subito et quasi[c] inopinate recessit de Anagnia versus[d] Romam cum maxima multitudine armatorum et, continuatis dietis suis, ingressus est urbem Romanam die Mercurii proxima post octavas nat. beate Marie et pernoctavit apud Lateranum, et ibi stetit per duos dies; et tercio die transtulit se ad[e] beatum Petrum, ubi modo stat valde tristis, eo quod, ut videtur, quod[f] non potest seipsum salvare in aliquo[g] loco nisi in urbe Romana. Tot enim habet inimicos quod vix invenietur[h] aliqua civitas in tota Tussia vel Campania que possit ipsum papam[i] defendere contra Columpnenses. Et nisi populus Romanus assisteret[j] pape et ipsum manutenuerit, timetur quod papa destrueretur[k]. Ursini sunt[l] cum papa totaliter, sed multi alii Romani sunt contra ipsum[m] et cum Columpnensibus. Et sic est divisio in populo Romano, propter quod nos, qui sumus cursesani[n], pessime sumus turbati et singulis diebus exspectamus quando erimus derobati de bonis[o] nostris; nec possumus fugere extra villam, quia ex omni parte Rome sunt latrones[p] ad derobandum transeuntes[q], in[r] tantum[r], si veniant sexaginta homines bene armati et inciderent[s] in manus eorum, non eis[t] resisterent[t]. Senatores vero[u] urbis[v] Romane, advertentes periculum quod iminet[w] de die in diem, resignarunt officium suum in manus populi Romani; et sic in urbe Romana[x] non est[y] iudex, nec[y] est qui ius reddit vel qui iura tueatur[z], sed defendat quilibet caput suum[a].

Dominus papa stat in palacio suo, ut predixi, apud sanctum Petrum in maximo tremore et, in quantum potest, attrahit secum populum Romanum paulatim et vicissem. Sed quid erit in fine nescio; Deus scit. Utinam essem in Anglia tali condicione quod omnia bona mea usque ad novissimum obolum dedissem pauperibus. Sciatis quod non est cogitandum de aliquibus impetracionibus in curia faciendis isto tempore vel de causis tractandis et expediendis, quia non est spes de audiencia resumenda e vicino. Sciatis insuper, quod postquam Christus natus fuit de virgine numquam visa fuerunt tot et tanta mirabilia in uno loco in tam modico tempore sicut nos hic vidimus. Dat. Rome, die Veneris proxime ante festum sancti Michaelis, anno domini M[b] *CCC tercio*[b].

illam, *R.* [a] *om R.* [b] post octavas natalis, *R.* [c] *om R, W.* [d] *so R, W; ms illegible.* [e] *om R.* [f] *om R.* [g] alico, *R.* [h] *so R;* inveniretur?, *ms.* [i] *om R.* [j] astiterit, *R.* [k] in brevi destruetur, *R.* [l] tenent, *R.* [m] populum, *R.* [n] curces., *R.* [o] equis et aliis bonis, *R.* [p] latrones et predones, *R.* [q] omnes t., *R.* [r] ita quod, *R.* [s] inciderint, *R.* [t] possent eis resistere, *R.* [u] *om R.* [v] urbe *corr. to* urbis, *ms.* [w] *so ms, R.* [x] *om R.* [y] *om R.* [z] tenent, *R.* [a] *here R ends.* [b] supradicto, *ms.*

> It is to be recalled that close upon the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, in the year of the Lord 1303, the eighth of his pontificate, there befell Pope Boniface—known formerly as Master Benedict of Anagni—the following incident which is described in the account a certain Master William of Hundleby, of the diocese of Lincoln, at that time procurator at the Roman Curia of the Lord J., by the grace of God, Bishop of Lincoln, sent to the same Lord Bishop in England (1):

Behold, Reverend Father, at dawn of the vigil of the Nativity (2) of the Blessed Mary just past, suddenly and unexpectedly there came upon Anagni a great force of armed men (3) of the party of the King of France and of the two deposed Colonna cardinals. Arriving at the gates of Anagni and finding them open (4), they entered the town and at once made an assault upon the palace of the Pope (5) and upon that of the Marquis (6), the Pope's nephew. As the racket echoed throughout the town, men and women got up from their beds and threw open their doors and sought whence it came. They learned that Sciarra, brother of the deposed Colonna cardinals (7), had made his way into the town with a large troop gotten for him by the King of France (8) and that he intended to seize the Pope and put him to death (9). Hearing this, the people of Anagni, that is the commune of the town, rang the public bell and gathered (10) at one place; there they discussed the matter as long as time allowed and the commune decreed and chose for itself a captain in Anagni who was to command and govern the whole commune or populace. This captain is the Lord Adenulf (11); he is the dominant figure of the Campagna and is moreover a mortal enemy of the Pope. To him the officials of the people immediately swore fidelity and obedience and promised to carry out all his commands.

While these affairs were being discussed and arranged by the people of Anagni, the above named Sciarra and his soldiery pushed their attack with vigor upon the palace of the Pope and upon those of the Marquis and three cardinals, namely, the Lord Gentile (12), papal penitentiary, the Lord Francis (13), nephew of the Pope, and the Lord [Peter] the Spaniard (14). Yet so well did the members of the Pope's household within the palace, and the Marquis, the Pope's nephew, and his people in their own stronghold defend themselves, by letting fly missiles in all directions and by hurling stones, that neither the palace of the Pope nor that of the Marquis was breached at all. However the residences of the three cardinals (15) who were looked upon as special friends of the Pope, these three were broken into and all their furnishings carried off, while the cardinals themselves had all they could do to escape with their lives through a latrine at the back of the house.

While this battling was going on, the Lord Adenulf, captain of the town, arrived upon the scene; he had with him the Lord Rainald of Supino

(16), who is of great importance in the Campagna as well as a bitter foe of the Pope, along with two sons of John of Ceccano (17) whose father was at that time held by the Pope in prison. No sooner had the said captain and his companions made contact with Sciarra Colonna and his troops then they joined forces with them, for they were all mortal enemies of the Pope. So strengthened were Sciarra's soldiery through their union with the captain and his band that they felt convinced the Pope and the Marquis his nephew could not possibly hold them off much longer. Knowing this, the Pope asked for a truce. Sciarra granted it to him and to his nephew the Marquis; it was to run until the ninth hour of the same day, which was the vigil of the Blessed Mary's Nativity. This truce commenced, as I said, about the first hour and ran until the ninth*.

While the truce held, the Pope sent in secret to the people of Anagni, beseeching them to save his life and promising them that, if they did, he would so reward them that all would enjoy his endless good will. But the townsfolk replied that they had chosen and commissioned a captain—the aforesaid Lord Adenulf—in whom now resided the full authority of the people; without him they had neither the right nor the intention of making any commitments. Having gotten this answer, the Pope then sent messengers and begged Sciarra that he make known to him, amongst other things, the precise points upon which the Pope had harmed him and his family; in accord with the counsel of the cardinals, the Pope was prepared to give him satisfaction. Sciarra replied, however, that he would never let the Pope off alive unless he were to agree to the three following conditions (18): first, that he give back or make over to the care of two or three of the senior cardinals of the college all the wealth of the Roman Church; in addition, that the Pope then fully reinstate the Cardinals James and Peter, whom he had deposed, in their temporal and spiritual prerogatives, and along with the cardinals all their relatives; also, thirdly, that the Pope resign the Papacy, upon carrying out this restoration, and put himself at the disposition of Sciarra. When the Pope learned these conditions, he groaned: "Alas, this is a hard saying!" So messengers passed back and forth many times over but still no solution was hit upon.

With the approach of the ninth hour, the populace set up the cry: "Ades, ades", which is vernacular and means much the same as our "Aly, ali." The troops pressed home their attack upon the Pope and his nephew only to have the defense continue as stoutly as before. At last, however, because the cathedral of the Blessed Mary at Anagni stood in the way (19) of Sciarra's soldiery getting at the palace of the Pope and of the cardinals, they set fire to the doors of the church, and having destroyed them, broke into the building. Once inside, they pillaged and stripped all the

* I.e., from about 7 a. m. to about 3 p. m.

clerics and laymen and merchants who had cutlery and other kinds of merchandise there for sale (20); thus it was that of all they could lay their hands upon the soldiers missed nothing, even though it were worth as little as a quadrant.

After a time, however, the Marquis, nephew of the Pope, realizing that defense was no longer possible, surrendered to Sciarra and the captain, so that they spared his own life and those of his son and companions. In this fashion were the Marquis and one of his sons taken (21) and thrown into prison, while another son escaped by means of a hidden passage. When the Pope heard this reported, he himself wept bitterly, yet not even the Pope was in a position to hold out longer. Sciarra and his forces broke through the doors and windows of the papal palace at a number of points, and set fire to them at others, till at last the angered soldiery forced their way to the Pope (22). Many of them heaped insults upon his head and threatened him violently, but to them all the Pope answered not so much as a word. And when they pressed him as to whether he would resign the Papacy, firmly did he refuse—indeed he preferred to lose his head—as he said in his vernacular: "E le col, e le cape!", which means: "Here is my neck and here my head!" Therewith he proclaimed in the presence of them all that as long as life was in him, he would not give up the Papacy. Sciarra, indeed, was quite ready to kill him, but he was held back by the others so that no bodily injury was done the Pope (23). Cardinal Peter of Spain was with the Pope (24) all through the struggle, though the rest of his retinue had slipped away. Sciarra and the captain appointed guards to keep the Pope in custody after some of the papal doormen had fled and others had been slain. Thus was the Pope and his nephew taken in Anagni on the said vigil of the Blessed Mary at about the hour of vespers (25) and it is believed that the Lord Pope put in a bad night.

The soldiers, on first breaking in, had pillaged the Pope, his chamber (26) and his treasury of utensils and clothing, fixtures, gold and silver and everything found therein so that the Pope had been made as poor as Job upon receiving word of his misfortune. Moreover, the Pope witnessed all and saw how the wretches divided his garments and carted away his furniture, both large items and small, deciding who would take this and who that, and yet he said no more than: "The Lord gave and the Lord taketh away, etc." And anyone who was in a position to seize or to lay hold upon something, took and seized it and carried it off, while no one then paid any more attention to the person of the Pope than he did to Godfrey Ceco of Lincoln or to Peter Stall (27).

Truly one finds it hard to believe that all the kings in the world could have disbursed from their treasuries in one year as much as was carried away from the palaces of the Pope (28) and the Marquis and the

three cardinals in one short hour. Besides that, Simon Gerard (29), the papal banker, was stripped of all that he had and was barely able to get away himself. Thus were the Pope and his nephews held in the custody (30) of some soldiers and other laymen from the vigil of the Blessed Mary's Nativity until the third day following, that is, until Monday, the day after the Nativity.

In the meantime, Sciarra and his party debated whether they should put the Pope to death (31) or hand him over alive to the King of France. But when the people of Anagni, that is the commune of the town, heard that the Pope might be slain, the commune of Anagni summoned a secret meeting without the knowledge of the captain and Sciarra and the other guards of the Pope. This gathering of the commune of Anagni took place on the day after the feast of the Blessed Mary at about the third hour (32).

Those who came to the meeting said to one another: "Although the Pope has done much evil in his life (33), still it is not right to kill him in this city, for if he were to be slain amongst us here, men throughout the world would say that we are guilty of his death, and so our town will be interdicted and Mass will not be celebrated here, and all Christendom will rise against us on this score and we shall all be destroyed." And some asked: "What are we to do then?" Others replied: "Let us go together at once to the Pope's palace and free him and his nephew from the guards, and let us ourselves take over their charge and thus shall we save their lives." Thereupon they agreed on oath that should the men assigned by the captain and Sciarra to the guarding of the Pope resist them, not one would get away alive.

Having thus committed themselves, the people of Anagni, that is the commune which is said to number some 10,000 well armed men (34), hurried off at once to the Pope's palace where he was held a prisoner. Although they were anxious to get in, they found that the soldiers barred their entrance. But at last, when they had ousted the troops and had killed many of them, the people of Anagni forced their way to the Pope. One of the commune spoke on behalf of the others: "Holy Father, we have come here to save your life and so we ask that we be allowed to watch over you until this tumult is quieted." Upon the Pope's hearing this, he raised his eyes and his hands to heaven and he gave thanks to God and to the commune for his deliverance from death. In like manner were the nephews of the Pope set at liberty. When the report of these happenings reached Sciarra, he quitted the town (35) with his troops, though he was violently angry with the townsfolk of Anagni and swore vengeance upon them. Thus was the Pope given his freedom by the people of Anagni on the day following the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, just after midday (36).

No sooner was the Pope delivered by the townsfolk of Anagni than

they had him brought from his palace to the great *piazza* (37) before all the people. The Pope preached with tears in his eyes and began by thanking God and the saints and the people of Anagni for his life. All of what he said I cannot narrate here, but part of it ran: "Good men and women, you know indeed how my enemies have fallen upon me and have taken all my belongings and those of the Church and have left me as poor as was Job. I tell you, therefore, that I have nothing to eat or to drink, and at this hour I have not as yet broken my fast. And so if there is any good woman who would like to help me in her kindness with either bread or wine, or, if she has neither bread nor wine, at least with a little water, I shall give her God's blessing and my own. And to all who bring me something for my support, no matter how small it may be, I shall grant absolution from all their sins, both as to punishment and to guilt (38)." And all began to shout: "Vive, Holy Father!", for this is their custom. And behold, those women who had been in the crowd, and many others from the town, hurried off to the Pope's palace and offered him, some of them, wine, some of them, bread, and some of them, water, so that soon his entire chamber was filled with bread, wine and water. They even had to pour out great quantities of the wine and water in the Pope's courtyard because they could not find enough jars to contain it all. Then were all admitted freely to the Pope, the good with the bad, the little people with the important folk, and all chatted with him just as they would with any other poor person.

In the meantime, when the Pope realized that he had been set at liberty, he got the consent of his protectors and went out and blessed the people (39). Again he gave thanks to God and to the townsfolk for having saved his life and he added: "Yesterday I had nothing at all but was as badly off as ever Job was. Now, God be praised, I have bread, wine, and water enough for myself and for all of you." Thereupon he absolved the entire commune from both punishment and guilt, exception made, however, for those who had taken the property of the Roman Church or of the cardinals and others of the Curia. These latter he forgave only on condition that within three days they restore such holdings. Nevertheless, the Pope expressly pardoned all who had stolen his own goods, as long as these belonged to him personally and were not of the estate of the Roman Church. With that, the Pope made public his desire to be at peace with the Colonna cardinals and with his other enemies (40) and stated his readiness to reinstate the Colonnas in their temporalities and in their spiritual privileges; this announcement he had proclaimed throughout the town. Thus was the Pope with his nephews in the charge of the commune of Anagni from the day following the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, about the vesper hour, until the next Friday.* During that period, indeed,

* I.e., from September 9 to September 13.

those goods which had been carried off were brought back again, but I would not have you believe that they were restored in their entirety.

On the morning of the Friday after the Nativity of the Blessed Mary, the Pope left Anagni for Rome; he left in haste and rather unexpectedly and with him there went a large party of armed men (41). Without interrupting his journey, he arrived at the city of Rome on the Wednesday following the octave of the Blessed Mary's Nativity (42) and passed the night at the Lateran. There he remained for two days and, on the third, moved to St. Peter's where he resides at this moment. He seems saddened by the realization that he is safe only at Rome, for he has so many enemies that there is scarcely a city to be found in all Tuscia (43) or the Campagna to defend him against the Colonnas. Unless the Roman people aid and support the Pope, one fears that he may be destroyed. All the Orsini are on the side of the Pope (44), but many other Romans oppose him and sympathize with the Colonnas. Thus there are divisions amongst the Romans; on which account, we who are curtisans (45) are badly plagued and live from day to day in fear of being despoiled of all we have. We cannot leave the city for there are thieves on all sides of Rome (46) who lie in wait for travellers, so that even though sixty well armed men were to fall into their hands, they would not stand against them. Conscious of the danger that constantly hangs over us, the senators of Rome (47) have resigned their authority into the hands of the Roman people; wherefore, there is neither judge nor one to dispense or see to justice in the city, but each man looks to himself for his own protection.

As I have said, the Lord Pope keeps to his palace at St. Peter's in great distress (48) and tries as best he can to win the Roman people to his side, one after another. What the end will be, I know not; only God knows. But would that I were in England and had given to the poor all my goods, even to the last farthing. In these days no one thinks of presenting petitions at the Curia or of pressing cases, for there is no prospect that hearings will recommence within the near future (49). Be assured that not since Christ was born of the Virgin has one place and one period seen so many great and strange happenings as we have witnessed here. Dated at Rome, on the Friday ** before the feast of St. Michael, in the year of the Lord 1303.

** September 27.

COMMENTARY

(1) *It is to be recalled . . . etc.*: this brief preface is not part of the original letter. From its marked similarity to the entry in Bishop Dalderby's *Liber memorandorum* that records William's death (quoted in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann*, p. 495), it would seem to have been composed at Lincoln by the official in charge of the episcopal register. Although

William Hundleby's despatch did not find its way into the *Liber memorandorum*, it may well have been copied into that *rotulus separatus* in the bishop's archives to which the above entry makes reference. This Lincoln transcript would thus be the source whence the All Souls Ms is derived. And it would be the scribe rather than William Hundleby who falsely assigns the Anagni outrage to the eighth instead of the ninth year of Boniface's pontificate. For examples of the narrative style of the Lincoln official, cf. A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester, 1943), pp. 231-240.

(2) *dawn . . . vigil of the Nativity:* Saturday, September 7, was chosen by the Frenchman William Nogaret, who organized the attack, that he might forestall the Pope's excommunicating King Philip IV of France upon the following day. Cf. P. Dupuy, *Histoire du differend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippes le Bel* (Paris, 1655), pp. 243, No. 24, No. 25; 246, No. 44; 256. What the excommunication would have entailed may be seen from the text of the bull in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-186. Our best sources support William Hundleby as to the early hour of the assault, placing it either "noctis tempore," as does the Orvieto Chronicle (ed. L. Fumi, Rerum Italicarum scriptores [1903], XV, pt. V, 202), or "mane ante auroram," as does the Vienne Ms in *Revue des questions historiques*, 43 (1888), 559. At such an hour, of course, opposition was hardly to be expected.

(3) *great force of armed men*: an estimate of 600 horsemen and 1050 foot soldiers appears in the Vienne Ms, 559, while Giovanni Villani, *Cronica*, VIII, 63 (in R. Palmarocchi: *Cronisti del trecento* [Milan, 1935], p. 251) speaks of 300 cavalry and foot soldiers "assai." R. Holtzmann, *Wilhelm von Nogaret* (Freiburg-i-B., 1898), p. 75, accepts Villani's calculation and suggests that the infantry may have been two or three times the size of the mounted force. Unfortunately, Nogaret avoids statistics, although he does refer to the relative fewness of his troops and maintains that, with the exception of two French retainers, the bulk of his men were strangers to him who had been recruited in central Italy, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, No. 45; 248, No. 55; 257; 443. It is to the Pope's efforts on behalf of his own family that one must look for an explanation of the discontent which facilitated recruitment among the Italian barons, although Seidlmayer has pointed out, in *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 60 (1940), 78-87, that in other respects Boniface followed an enlightened policy with reference to the Papal States. Two partial lists of the local participants in the attack have been preserved: one in Pope Benedict XI's *Flagitiosum scelus* (*Register*, ed. Ch. Grandjean, No. 1276), and the other in the Anagni Trial of 1304-05, cited by H. Finke, *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII* (Münster-i-W., 1902), p. 269 n., with the corrections of P. Fedele in *Bullettino dell' istituto storico italiano* [*BISI*], 41 (1921), 213 n.

(4) *gates . . . open*: the opening of the gates is attributed by the Orvieto Chronicle, p. 203, to the treachery of Adenulf di Matteo who was to be elected that morning as captain of Anagni. The tale in Ferreto (ed. C. Cipolla, *Le opere di Ferreto de' Ferreti* [Rome, 1908], I, 151) that Car-

dinal Napoleon Orsini tricked the innocent Godfrey Bussa into giving him the keys to the gate has been properly rejected by P. Funke, *Papst Benedikt XI* (Münster-i-W., 1891), p. 117. Bussa's own complicity with the attackers is established by the Anagni Trial of 1304-05 as well as by the testimony of Rainald of Supino (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 609). The gate used for entrance is uncertain. Though T. S. R. Boase, *Boniface VIII* (London, 1933), p. 345, favors the Porta Tufoli, that suggestion is no more than a possibility with difficulties of its own.

(5) *assault upon the palace:* while Nogaret speaks of an attack upon the residences of the Pope and his nephew immediately following the entrance into Anagni, he makes it clear that barricades thrown up in the streets slowed his advance considerably, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 46. The identification of the buildings involved raises a problem. G. Caetani, who gives a map of the area in *Domus Caietana* (Sancasciano, 1927), I, pt. 1, 172 (cf. also I, pt. 2, 201), believes the papal palace to have been that which is still shown visitors as Boniface's residence, namely the Astalli Palace which housed a convent school in 1940. But if, as Marchetti-Longhi more justly contends, in the *Archivio della r. società romana di storia patria* [*ARSRSP*], 43 (1920), 390, the present convent is in reality the palace of the Marquis Peter, then Boniface must have dwelt opposite it, in the now ruined Trajetto Palace, which thus wrongly appears on Caetani's map as the "palazzo di P. Caetani." Ernest Renan seems also to have adopted this view in his *Études sur la politique religieuse du règne de Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1899), p. 37.

(6) *the Marquis*: Peter II Caetani was the son of the Pope's brother, Roffred II; by 1303, he bore the titles of Count of Caserta and Marquis of the province of Ancona. His family tree and what else is known of him is given by G. Caetani in *Caietanorum genealogia* (Perugia, 1920), Tav. A-XXXVII, and pp. 47-48, and *Domus Caietana*, I, pt. 1, 160-163. Along with his father, Peter had been the special object of the Pope's efforts to build up great territorial holdings for his family, cf. Previté-Orton in the *Edinburgh Review*, 248 (1928), 298-300.

(7) *Sciarra . . . the Colonna cardinals:* though one must agree with Michael, in *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, 16 (1892), 367-372, in assigning the principal rôle in the Anagni affair to the Frenchman William Nogaret —we have his own affirmation that he had been chosen captain of the attacking party (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 263)—still it is understandable enough that at Anagni men like William Hundleby and the author of the Vienne Ms, 559, should have thought of Sciarra Colonna as the actual leader of the band. For Sciarra and the Colonnas had the blood of warriors. And their battle with Boniface, which had startled the world in 1297, was as yet recent history in Italy. The two cardinals mentioned by William Hundleby, James and his nephew Peter, had been deposed by the Pope on May 10, 1297 (cf. the bull in Boniface's *Register*, ed. Digard-Faucon-Thomas, No. 2388), while Sciarra himself, the brother of Peter, is mentioned by name in the general excommunication of the Colonnas which is dated May 23, 1297 (*Reg.*, No. 2389, c. 970).

(8) *the King of France*: apparently it was the soldiery's flaunting of the royal arms and banners of France — attested to by Nogaret (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 442), and the Vienne Ms, 559 — which gave rise to William Hundleby's belief that Philip IV was implicated in the attack. Later indeed, Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 149, and Giovanni Villani, *op. cit.*, VIII, 63 (in Palmarocchi, *Cronisti*, 250), will maintain that the French crown was the prime mover of the expedition against the Pope. However, genuine proof is hard to come by. Nogaret admitted having a double instruction from his king concerning Boniface — that of consulting with Philip's Italian friends on the threatened unity of the Church (which, of course, conceals more than it reveals) and that of announcing to the Pope the French demands for a council (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 255; 308, No. 15) — yet he stoutly denied having had a commission to employ troops against the Pontiff; cf. the text in R. Holtzmann: *Nogaret*, 276. Unfortunately, our only extant royal mandate, a document of March 7, 1303, (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 175), is too vague to be helpful in determining the precise nature of Nogaret's charge from the king. Probability does, indeed, favor the contention of Renan, *Études*, 22, that Philip was aware beforehand of all that Nogaret had in mind for his mission into Italy. And one may perhaps go so far as to suspect, with Robert Fawtier, *L'Europe occidentale de 1270 à 1380* (Paris, 1940), pt. 1, 404, that monarch and agent were as one in the matter and that Philip shared with Nogaret an intense religious conviction which made him see in Boniface a threat to the Catholic faith, though Pocquet du Haut-Jussé, in *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 26 (1940), 95-99, has questioned the theory of religious conviction as an adequate explanation of the "politique" of Philip the Fair. But it is extremely doubtful whether one may go beyond that and maintain, with R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, pp. 215-227, that the king had actually commanded the seizure of the Pope. For Philip must have seen how compromising such a mandate would become in the event of failure. What he wanted above all else was the summoning of a council by the Pope for the trial of the Pope. How that could best be achieved would depend upon circumstances which were as yet unpredictable. The seizure of the Pope might, indeed, prove practical, but it was wise to avoid definite instructions and to have the decision Nogaret's doing and not the king's. In that way, were failure to destroy the agent, it would not touch the crown. Thus only would Philip seem to have been responsible for Anagni. Somewhat similar interpretations are offered by Félix Rocquain, *La papauté au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1881), p. 269, and by Victor Martin, *Les origines du Gallicanisme* (Paris, 1939), I, 200; while Finke, in *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 26 (1905), 211-212, believes that Philip's guilt for the outrage is far from demonstrated.

(9) *seize the Pope and put him to death*: the talk of killing Boniface apparently came from some of the Italian barons and later, at least, was vigorously opposed by Nogaret, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 248, No. 53; 257. The Frenchman, of course, was not adverse to capturing the Pontiff. Some months before, at Paris on March 12, 1303, he had himself advocated

the seizure of the Pope and his arraignment before a general council for deposition; cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 58, and Jean Rivière, *Le problème de l'église et de l'état au temps de Philippe le Bel* (Louvain, 1926), pp. 109-113. Then, in the weeks following the Paris appearance, Nogaret set out for Italy. Although he was still to give some hint of indecision (cf. *Journal des Savants*, 1917, 323), one will hardly err in supposing that the convocation of the council and, if possible, the gaining control of the Pope's person loomed large among his purposes. And yet, as Newhall has noted in the *Catholic Historical Review*, VII (1921), 282, it is quite improbable that, by the time September came around and he organized the assault upon Anagni, Nogaret was thinking any longer in terms of seizing Boniface that he might carry him off to France for trial. For the attack of September 7 bears all the evidence of hasty planning; it was gotten up within five or six days (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 384). It sprang not so much from carefully laid plans to undo the Pope, as from the sudden realization of what Boniface was about at Anagni and that unless he were stymied by September 8, he would publish to the world his excommunication of the French monarch.

(10) *people of Anagni . . . gathered:* this was not the spontaneous meeting that William Hundleby thought it to be. The populace was probably summoned by the local faction in league with the attackers; then Nogaret appeared before the gathering, outlined his reasons for the assault and secured the unanimous support of the "maiores" in the name of the people, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 48. It may well be that upon this occasion, Nogaret insisted upon his allies carrying the banner of the Church, thus lending weight to the claim that his undertaking served the best interests of Christendom, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

(11) *the Lord Adenulf*: both the Orvieto Chronicle, pp. 202-203, and Pipinus (in Rerum Italicarum scriptores [ed. 1726], IX, 740B), speak of Adenulf as a party to the intrigue which prepared the assault. He was certainly of prominence in Anagni, being of the family di Matteo or di Papa which was related to Pope Gregory IX, and had been *podestà* of the town, perhaps in 1279, just as his father had been before him. In May, 1297, Adenulf and his brother Nicholas had sold to the Marquis Peter Caetani the palace wherein Peter resisted the attackers on the fateful September 7. For these and other details, cf. *ARSRSP*, 7 (1884), 264-5, 271; 43 (1920), 387-8, 391; 47 (1924), 146 n, 166.

(12) *Cardinal Gentile*: of Montefiore; he was a Franciscan and was cardinal priest of the church of SS. Silvester and Martin ai Monti. He had commenced his career at the papal court in the capacity of a *lector curiae;* cf. Heinz Göring, *Die Beamten der Kurie unter Bonifaz VIII* (Königsberg, 1934), p. 75. Gentile first appears in Boniface's *Register* (No. 4664) with the function of penitentiary in a document of May 22, 1302. What little is known of him is given by Emil Göller, *Die päpstliche Pönitentiarie* (Rome, 1907), I, 90, No. 9.

(13) *Cardinal Francis Caetani*: was the son of Roffred II and brother of the Marquis Peter. On December 17, 1295, he had been created cardinal

deacon of St. Mary in Cosmedin by the Pope, his uncle; cf. Caetani, *Caietanorum genealogia*, p. 49. From the remark in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 105, No. 25, he would seem to have been a married man at the time, so that his wife was asked to take a vow of chastity to make possible her husband's elevation.

(14) *Card. Peter the Spaniard*: though the christian name is missing at this point in the All Souls Ms, it can be supplied from the Royal Ms. Peter Roderici is first mentioned, on January 2, 1292, as chaplain to Boniface who was as yet a cardinal, cf. Caetani; *Regesta Chartarum* (Perugia, 1922), I, 61. In the Pope's *Register* (No. 204 bis) he appears, on July 2, 1295, as "camere nostre clericus" and canon of Chartres; by November, 1300, he serves as papal *referendarius* and holds the Spanish See of Burgos; cf. Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, pp. xvi, xix. It was not until Boniface's fourth creation of cardinals, in December, 1302, that Peter was elevated to the cardinal-bishopric of Sabina, cf. A. Ciaconius—V. Ughellus; *Vitae et res gestae pontificum Rom. et cardinalium* (Rome, 1630), I, 812. Financial transactions *in camera domini Petri* (e.g., *Register*, No. 5003; Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, 234) suggest that Boniface found use for his former chaplain in a confidential capacity. For brief notices of Peter, cf. Göring, *Beamten*, pp. 11-12, and Bruno Katterbach, *Referendarii utriusque signaturae a Martino V ad Clementem IX* [Studi e Testi, 55] (Vatican City, 1931), p. xix.

(15) *residences of the three cardinals*: according to the Vienne Ms, 560, and to what may be deduced from Pipinus, 740D, there were at least four palaces of cardinals sacked in the course of the struggle: those of the three prelates just mentioned along with that of Cardinal Theodoric of Orvieto. There is thus little point to the discussion of R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, pp. 78-80, as to whom William Hundleby intended in referring to three cardinals. Peter the Spaniard, who is here said to have escaped from his dwelling, will appear later with the Pope in his palace. The explanation probably lies in the inter-connected passages of the papal quarter at Anagni whereby the cardinal could have gotten from his own residence to that of Boniface without having been seen by the soldiery, cf. Caetani, *Domus Caietana*, I, pt. 1, 174 n.

(16) *Lord Rainald of Supino*: he was of the Conti family, the son of Baldwin of Supino, and held the captaincy of Ferentino in 1303. Concerning the part he played in the attack upon the Pope, we have his own description of 1312 (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 608-611) and the Neapolitan citation of August 17, 1304 (in *BISI*, 41 [1921], 230). Boase, *Boniface VIII*, p. 345, has suggested that Rainald's grievance against the Pontiff arose from Francis Caetani's divorce of Rainald's sister Mary. One may note, however, that by 1303 the divorce was almost eight years in the past—if one is prepared at all to admit its having taken place—while in any case the lady, whether divorced or otherwise, had long since been provided for as a nun of S. Maria de Viano, cf. Caetani, *Regesta chartarum*, I, 181. Rainald may well have had more immediate grounds for complaint against the Pope in the transactions—such as that of April 7, 1300, in *Regesta*

chartarum, I, 184—whereby he and his family had been induced to cede territory to the Caetani. For a brief sketch of Rainald, cf. Göring, *Beamten*, p. 71.

(17) *two sons of John of Ceccano*: the John here intended by William Hundleby is the son of Anibald of Ceccano whom Boniface sentenced, on June 13, 1299, "ad carcerem decennalem, plus minusve" (*Reg.*, No. 3418, c. 595). In the family tree worked out by Caetani, *Caietanorum genealogia*, Tav. lxvi, lxvii, he appears as John III (junior). The "two sons" to whom William Hundleby refers are believed by Caetani (*Domus Caietana*, I, pt. 1, 173) and by Falco (*ARSRSP*, 49 [1926], 130-131) to have been in reality his uncle John II, son of Landolf, and John II's son Goffred. In support of that interpretation is the fact that Pope Benedict XI (*Register*, ed. Grandjean, No. 1276) joins together the names *Johannes filius Landulfi, Gotfridus natus Johannis de Ceccano* in his list of participants in the Anagni assault. It is worth noting, however, that within the months following the outrage, another son of John II—a Landolf III—is twice associated, either with his father or with Adenulf di Matteo and Rainald of Supino, in projects directed against the Caetani, cf. *ARSRSP*, 49 (1926), 132-133. There is thus some likelihood that Landolf III had a part in the events of September 7, and that there were after all, two sons of John II of Ceccano involved with their father. That William Hundleby should have confused John II with John III and so not have mentioned him as joining in the attack is understandable enough.

(18) *three conditions*: the different interests of the parties co-operating in the assault are reflected in their demands; only the last of the proposals could have been of much importance to Nogaret and the French. Some echo of the three conditions can be gotten from our other sources, though all assign them to a period after the Pope's capture. Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 153-154, had heard of the demand for the restoration of the Colonnas, while the Troyes ms, 60, and the *Storie Pistoresi* (ed. S. Barbi, in Rerum Italicarum scriptores [1907-27], XI, pt. 5, 239) record that Boniface's resignation had been called for. The condition concerning the cardinals has been preserved by an unknown English Franciscan, in MGH, SS, XXIV, 256, though one cannot exclude the possibility that he depends for his information upon William Hundleby. The proposal itself hints that high prelates were implicated in the attack and would seem to be based on the complaint that the Pope had shown little regard for the privileges of the Sacred College, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, 104, No. 20; 212. For an analysis of the prerogatives of the cardinals under Boniface, cf. Johann B. Sägmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle bis Papst Bonifaz VIII* (Freiburg-i-B., 1896), pp. 149-249, and, more briefly, Herbert Hofmann, *Kardinalat und kuriale Politik in der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Bleicherode, 1935), pp. 13-17.

(19) *cathedral . . . in the way:* with the streets barricaded in the vicinity of the papal palace (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 46), apparently the best way of getting at Boniface was from inside the cathedral. Marchetti-Longhi, in *ARSRSP*, 43 (1920), 390, has imagined a covered portico

running from the church to the palace whereby the entrance into the latter could have been effected. There is, however, no independent evidence for such a structure. That the cathedral doors were burned in the course of the battling is testified to by the Pope's grandnephew, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 472.

(20) *merchandise for sale*: markets set up within the walls of churches and cathedrals were not unknown in the England of William Hundleby's day, cf. John R. H. Moorman: *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1945), p. 148.

(21) *Marquis and one of his sons taken:* of the three sons of the Marquis Peter—Benedict, Roffred, and Francis—it is clear from the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, that only the first two are here concerned. But which of the two it was who was captured with his father is something of a problem. Our main clue is a remark of Nogaret (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 311, No. 33) that the young man taken was known as "dominus Conticellus." That is, of course, simply the diminutive of 'count'. And thus the problem is that of identifying the "Conticellus." Caetani has suggested (*Caietanorum Genealogia*, pp. 52-53) that Roffred, Count of Fondi, was so called to distinguish him from his father who bore, among other titles, that of Count of Caserta. Despite Caetani's authority, a better case can be made out for Benedict's having gone by the name of Conticellus. One suspects that the title was applied to him, not to avoid confusing him with his father, but rather with his brother Roffred. There was real danger of such confusion. For Roffred had at one time borne the title of Count Palatine (cf. Boniface's *Register*, No. 5482, No. 5508); ultimately he had relinquished that dignity and had become, in October, 1299, Count of Fondi. Not long thereafter, Benedict obtained his brother's former title and began to be called by March, 1303, certainly, and probably as early as the spring of 1302, Count Palatine, cf. *Register*, No. 5334, No. 5335, and *ARSRSP*, 44 (1921), 21. There were thus two brothers each of whom was thought of with reference to the palatinate. Contemporaries would have needed some means of distinguishing them. Confusion could best be avoided by calling Benedict, the second holder of the title—and quite possibly the younger of the two—by the diminutive "conticellus." At all events, there is support for the thesis in the assertion of Pipinus, 740C, that it was the Count of Fondi—i.e., Roffred—who escaped the attackers. Benedict must, therefore, have been taken prisoner. And it is the captured son whom Nogaret calls "Conticellus".

(22) *soldiery forced their way to the Pope:* according to the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, and Pipinus, 740E, subsequent to their capture the Marquis and his son (Benedict) were taken to the house of Adenulf. Nogaret, who wanted their good offices in armistice proposals to the Pope, accompanied them so that he was not with the soldiery when they broke in upon Boniface, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 247, No. 49, No. 50. There is some disagreement among our sources as to the Pope's appearance at the moment of his capture. In one account—that of Orvieto—Boniface

is described as in bed when his assailants find him. Many competent scholars accept the accuracy of that portrayal. Among them, J. v. Döllinger: *Akademische Vorträge* (Munich, 1891), III, 228, 236-7; R. Holtzmann: *Nogaret*, 83; and G. Digard: *Philippe le Bel et le Saint-Siège de 1285 à 1304* (Paris, 1936), II, 182, may be mentioned. The other description is given by Giovanni Villani, VIII, 63 (in Palmarocchi: *Cronisti*, 251); it has the Pope seated and arrayed in pontifical garb at the time his chamber is entered. Of recent studies, Fedele, in *BISI*, 41 (1921), 204-206, has made out the most convincing case for the reliability of the Villani account. It is this description which has been followed by F. M. Powicke in *History*, 18 (1934), 328, and which has in its favor the statement of the Pope's own grandnephew Francis: *constat enim notorie . . tempore . . quo fuit captus . . ipse . . Bonifacius erat indutus papalibus* (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 402). Actually, if one keeps in mind the strain under which Boniface acted, it is not at all improbable that there is an element of truth in both descriptions. Having met his assailants in full pontificals and having been subjected to mistreatment, the Pope may well have sunk upon a couch when the worst of the ordeal was at an end, cf. *BISI*, 41 (1921), 207, and Boase: *Boniface VIII*, 347.

(23) *no bodily injury . . done the Pope*: the evidence against the Pope's having been physically mishandled has been presented by R. Holtzmann: *Nogaret*, 86-89, while Fedele, in *BISI*, 41 (1921), 207-217, has marshaled the indications which point to such maltreatment. Fedele's arguments would seem to be the sounder. It should perhaps be noted that although W. Holtzmann, in *Festschrift Albert Brackmann* (Weimar, 1931), p. 502, has questioned Fedele's basic contention that the words of Benedict XI (*Register*, ed. Grandjean, No. 1276, cf. No. 1099): *manus in eum injecerunt* are to be taken in the literal sense of physical mishandling, many years earlier, Fedele's interpretation had been anticipated by Lefèvre in the *Revue de l'École d'anthropologie de Paris*, 14 (1904), 82. In support of the view that Pope Benedict's phrase is to be taken literally, one may note a similar phrase in Boniface's *Register*, No. 3418, c. 592, where the meaning of physical violence is demanded; one may note also an explicit statement dating from 1308, that the Anagni assailants of Boniface *in eum manus violentas iniecerunt;* cf. Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, p. lxxx. It has apparently not been recognized that the real force of William Hundleby's assertion: *malum in corpore non recepit papa* is to deny, not the mishandling of the Pope, but the infliction upon him of that sort of injury or wound which would still have been visible after his deliverance on September 9.

(24) *Card. Peter of Spain . . . with the Pope:* in addition to William Hundleby, the Vienne ms, 559, and Arnold of Villanova (in Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, p. clxxxii) make mention of Peter's presence in the papal chamber. The genuineness of the cardinal's attachment to Boniface is testified to by his desire to be buried *ad pedes domini sui;* cf. the sepulchral inscription in Ciaconius-Ughellus, I, 844, 812. On the evidence of the Vienne ms and the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, it would see that a few at least of

the retinue copied Peter in his refusal to abandon the Pope. Our only hint as to their identity is the statement of the Troyes ms (in *Bulletin du comité historique des monuments écrits de l'histoire de France: Histoire* [Paris], IV [1853], 60) that they were *frates Templarii et Hospitelarii cubicularii sui.* Perhaps they were the James de Pocapalea and John Fernandi of whom Göring, *Beamten,* 58-60, makes mention. John is known to have been a Templar.

(25) *Pope . . taken . . about . . vespers*: i. e., toward 6 p. m. In 1304, Nogaret was of the opinion that the fighting had ceased at vespers (Dupuy, *op. cit.,* p. 248, No. 55), though he was later to venture that perhaps *inter nonas et vesperas* was more accurate; cf. *ibid., op. cit.,* p. 310, No. 27; 445.

(26) *pillaged . . the . . chamber*: there is a description of the sacking in two bulls of Benedict XI (*Reg.,* No. 1099, No. 1119). Mention of the theft of sacred relics occurs in the *Storie Pistoresi,* 239, while one of the registers of Pope Clement IV still bears witness that the papal archives fell victim to the looters, cf. *BISI,* 41 (1921), 217 n. Some idea of what those archives may have contained is gotten from the inventory of 1295 published by Ehrle in *Archiv für Litteratur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters,* I (1885), 24-41. Nogaret insists (Dupuy, *op. cit.,* p. 311, No. 29; 385; 445) that Boniface's relatives and domestics had a hand in the thievery, even while the palace was still unbreached, and that they did not overlook the Pope's cellars.

(27) *Godfrèy Ceco . . Peter Stall*: these are, of course, local Lincoln figures known to Bishop Dalderby to whom William Hundleby is writing. The Royal ms has stricken out the two names and has made the text more general: *de papa nullus plus tunc curavit quam de reo vel alio quocunque ribaldo.*

(28) *as much as was carried away from . . the Pope*: Boniface is credited by Arnold of Villanova (in Finke, *Aus den Tagen,* p. clxxxiii) with having boasted of the immense wealth he had acquired for the Roman See. Amongst the Pope's contemporaries, complaints are frequent enough about his thirst for gold, cf. e.g. Finke, *ibid.,* pp. xxvii, xxxi, and Compagni (ed. I. del Lungo, Rerum Italicarum scriptores [1907-16], IX, pt. 2, 163). It has been estimated that Boniface's nine-year pontificate saw an income totaling 2,265,000 florins and an outlay of 2,170,000, cf. Baethgen in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken,* 20 (1929), 190.

(29) *Simon Gerard*: through an evident oversight, Simon's name has been omitted by the scribe of the All Souls ms and must be supplied from the Royal ms. Simon is mentioned fifty-two times in Boniface's *Register.* He was a member of the Florentine banking firm of the Spini (*Reg.,* No. 1296) who by 1300 had had sufficient contact with the Pope to be referred to as *familiaris noster (Reg.,* No. 3535). William Hundleby is our only source to connect him with the events of September 7, though the Vienne ms, 560, records the pillaging of the Spini house in Anagni. For the function of men like Simon, cf. E. Jordan, *De mercatoribus*

camerae apostolicae saeculo XIII, Rennes, 1909; for Boniface's relations with the Tuscan bankers, cf. Gino Arias, *Studi e documenti di storia del diritto* (Florence, 1902), 102-114.

(30) *The Pope . . in custody*: both the Vienne ms, 560, and Nogaret (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 444) make it certain that the Pope was held in his own palace. Despite Nogaret's having seen to it that Boniface's domestics were permitted to bring him food (Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 257; 311, No. 32), the legend was to take shape that the Pope had had nothing to eat or to drink during the time of his imprisonment, cf. the *Storie Pistoresi*, 239. The tale may have been occasioned by Boniface's reluctance to eat for fear of poisoning (so Hocsem in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 4) or perhaps by his deliberate refusal of food; this latter course is understandable enough given the resentment he must have felt at his captivity. Cf. R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, p. 96.

(31) *whether they should put the Pope to death*: Nogaret's insistence that it was his guarding of the Pope which saved him from death implies that some at least of the attacking party were not opposed to murder; cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 444. Against this radical element, the Frenchman counted, no doubt, upon his less embittered companions who, sated as they were with the Pope's wealth, now objected to further violence; so Döllinger, *Akademische Vorträge*, III, 231. Apparently, the unexpected success of the expedition had worked a change in Nogaret himself; he seems again to have thought of carrying Boniface off to France for trial. But because he could hardly have been ready with the detailed planning, debate dragged on, with even his moderate associates far from enthusiastic.

(32) *gathering of the commune . . about the third hour*: in assigning the meeting to the third hour, i.e., 9 a. m., the Royal ms provides a better reading than does the All Souls ms which places the gathering at the ninth hour. Supporting the former text are the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, the Vienne ms, 560, and Nogaret (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 248, No. 55). There is some indication in our sources of other motives for the assembly besides that given by Hundleby. That the excesses of the soldiery—mentioned by the Padua ms of Ptolomey of Lucca (in errum Italicarum scriptores [ed. 1727], XI, 1223C) and hinted at by Nogaret (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, p. 311, No. 31)—should have caused resentment needs little belaboring. Of greater significance is the reference of the Toryes ms, 61, to the indignation of the townsfolk upon being presented with decrees in the name of the French King rather than in that of the Pope. According to Pipinus, 740E, and Ferreto (*op. cit.*, I., 154-155) the popular discontent was fanned into flame by Cardinal Luke Fieschi, though there is probability behind the suggestion of Caetani, *Domus Caietana*, I, pt. 1, 177, that the Caetani cardinal and his nephew Roffred had been busy recruiting forces for the freeing of the Pope. It may be noted that Lévis Mirepoix, *Philippe le Bel* (Paris, 1936), p. 112, has blundered badly in having the Marquis Peter organize the counter-attack.

(33) *the Pope has done much evil:* for the sort of thing his adversaries were saying about Boniface, cf. Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-106; 526-543. A judicious evaluation of such charges is that of Finke: *Aus den Tagen*, pp. 252-268. For the accusation of heresy, besides the studies listed by Boase, *Boniface VIII*, p. 364, and his own discussion, attention may be called to L. Mohler, *Die Kardinäle Jakob und Peter Colonna* (Paderborn, 1914), 139-164, to Ludwig in the *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 154 (1914), 292-297, and, in support of the charge, to Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1912), III, 7-11. The brochure of Clemens Sommer, *Die Anklage der Idolatrie gegan Papst Bonifaz VIII* (Freiburg-i-B., 1920), is of slight value.

(34) *10,000 well armed men:* this estimate is obviously too high for it implies that Anagni had some 30-40,000 inhabitants in the days of Pope Boniface. During the same period, Naples was a city of only 25-30,000 souls, while Salerno numbered no more than seven or eight thousand, cf. Karl J. Beloch: *Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens* (Berlin, 1937), I, 170, 243. On the basis of Pardi's calculations — controversial, to be sure — Anagni can be estimated as having had not many more than 3200 residents in the year 1420, cf. *ARSRSP*, 49 (1926), 331-354.

(35) *Sciarra . . . quitted the town:* that a good deal of fighting accompanied this retreat is evident from Nogaret's earliest description of it (in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 175; 248, No. 55). Indeed, according to the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, Nogaret was himself wounded in the course of the struggle, while Rainald of Supino and his son Robert were captured by the townsfolk. However, the Frenchman was able to make good his escape; a month later, on October 17, 1303, he and Rainald, since freed by Boniface, pledged themselves to continue the feud with Anagni and the Caetani, see Dupuy, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-176.

(36) *The Pope freed . . just after midday*: although the Royal ms's *circa horam statim post nonam* would place the liberation at 3 p.m., the reading strikes one as too awkward to be original. That the more likely *statim post nonam* of the All Souls ms is to be interpreted as referring to midday rather than to 3 p.m. seems required by the context which implies a rapid succession of events between the commune's gathering and the freeing of the Pope. *Nona*, with the meaning of midday or noon, can be traced in insular sources as far back as 1148 A.D. Cf. J. H. Baxter—C. Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources* (Oxford, 1934), p. 279.

(37) *the great piazza*: the cathedral square. The Pope probably spoke from the west portal of the church, under the porch where his statue stands today.

(38) *absolution . . as to punishment and to guilt*: on the other occasion whereupon Boniface employs the expression *a culpa et pena . . absoluti* (*Reg.*, No. 815), he is but repeating the phrase from a grant of Celestine V to the church of Collemaggio dated September 29, 1294. The expression itself, as Nikolaus Paulus, *Geschichte des Ablasses im Mittelalter* (Pader-

born, 1923), II, 137-148, points out, was popular rather than strictly theological and was used in the 13th century in description of a plenary indulgence. One may surmise, however, from the frequency with which Robert Courson refers to *deletio pene et culpe* (cf. his *Summa*, ed. Kennedy, in *Mediaeval Studies*, VII [1945], espec. 304, 306, 307, 308) that the phrase had been first employed by theologians in explaining the effects of contrition before it was taken over and applied popularly to indulgences. Of such popular use with reference to indulgences a case in point is Boniface's own jubilee grant of 1300. Two who gained it, viz., G. Villani (in Palmarocchi: *Cronisti*, 232) and William Ventura (in Rerum Italicarum scriptores [ed. 1727], XI, 191-192), speak of it as a *perdonanza . . di colpa e di pena*, though the Pope himself had not used that terminology but had called his indulgence *plenissima omnium . . venia peccatorum* (*Reg.*, No. 3875). That contrition for and confession of sin was required for the gaining of such an indulgence is expressly laid down in the bull, cf. also, H. Thurston: "The Jubilee Indulgence a poena et a culpa" in the *Dublin Review*, 122 (1900), 1-24. For the distinction between the *macula culpae* and the *reatus poenae* as worked out by Boniface's day, see St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, Ia IIae, qq. 86-87.

(39) *the Pope . . went out . . and blessed the people*: this appearance of the Pontiff is clearly distinct from that of the cathedral square. According to the Orvieto Chronicle, 203, and the *Storie Pistoresi*, 239, it was made at the head of the stairs of the Pope's own palace and was climaxed by his freeing of Rainald and the others captured by the populace.

(40) *desire to be at peace with . . his enemies*: Boniface's announcement probably came at the close of his second discourse, perhaps in connection with his giving of liberty to Rainald and his companions. Among the seized had been a number of Anagni nobles; Cardinal Nicholas Boccasini, the future Benedict XI, spoke on their behalf and secured the Pope's pardon for them and all the townsfolk who had taken part in the uprising. Cf. Pipinus, 741A, and the *Storie Pistoresi*, 239. There is evidence in Dupuy, *op. cit.*, (p. 248, No. 56; p. 312, No. 35) which makes it probable, despite Renan's doubt (*Études*, 52), that the Pope's forgiveness extended to all implicated in the attack. That specific mention was made of the Colonna cardinals is admitted by Mohler, *Kard. J. u. P. Colonna*, p. 121. Other members of the Sacred College were sufficiently involved in the affair to have had need also of pardon. Two of them—Richard of Siena and Napoleon Orsini—are singled out by the Orvieto Chronicle, 203. Certainly Napoleon's culpability was taken for granted by his own uncle, Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini; cf. his charge in H. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia* (Berlin, 1922), III, 134-135. For an account of Napoleon's part in the Anagni attempt, cf. Carl A. Willemsen, *Kardinal Napoleon Orsini* (Berlin, 1927), pp. 11-12.

(41) *the Pope left . . with . . a large party*: Boniface's return to his see city was suggested by a delegation sent from Rome for that purpose; in its company the Pope set out for the capital, cf. the Troyes ms, 61, and the

Storie Pistoresi, 239. The chronicler in recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France, XXI, 149, estimates the strength of the party at 400. That the envoys had arrived in time to assist in liberating the Pope is hardly possible despite the suggestion of Mariani in *La Ciudad de Dios* (Madrid), 147 (1926), 189. Amongst the delegates, Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini figured prominently; it is he whom the Padua ms of Ptolomey, 1223D, credits with having protected the Pope en route to Rome. That such protection involved beating off the Colonna attack in the Campagna, mentioned by the Parma Chronicle (ed. G. Bonazzi, in Rerum Italicarum scriptores [1902], IX, pt. 9, 86), would seem improbable.

(42) *arrived at . . Rome on . . Wednesday:* i.e., September 18. Ferreto (I, 155) is in agreement with Hundleby as to the date of the arrival as is apparently the continuator of Gervase of Canterbury (in MGH, SS XXVII, 314) who has Boniface at St. Peter's by the 20th of the month. The Vienne ms, 560, assigns the seemingly impossible *XII die Sept.* to the entrance into Rome. One cannot, of course, exclude a numerical error in the ms as we have it, but it may be pointed out that the simple addition of the abbreviation *ex.* to the Vienne form would make it mean September 19 in the reckoning known as the *consuetudo Bononiensis*. Cf. A. Cappelli, *Cronologia, Cronografia e Calendario Perpetuo* (2nd ed., Milan, 1930), p. 26 n. The supposition that the Pope reached Rome *after* vespers on Wednesday afternoon is quite sufficient to explain the minor difficulty of the clerical author of the ms having noted the event under Thursday's date.

Unfortunately, there is greater difficulty with the departure from Anagni. The All Souls ms places it on Friday, September 13, thus having the journey consume six days, which is inordinately long for the forty miles involved. Knöpfler, indeed, has suggested (in *Historisch-politische Blätter für das katholische Deutschland*, 102 [1888], 10 n.) that the delay was caused by the Pope's having had to rest after the second Colonna attack; but William Hundleby says expressly that the journey was unbroken, *continuatis dietis suis*. In contrast, Ferreto (*op. cit.*, I, 155) offers a more likely chronology which makes Boniface leave Anagni on Monday the 16th; cf. R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, p. 229. The present writer would like to propose that the original text of William Hundleby may have given the same date as Ferreto. One notes considerable difference between the Royal and All Souls mss at this point; for the former, the departure falls *die Veneris post octavas natalis b. Marie*. Liebermann, in the MGH edition, emends the *post octavas* to *ante oct.* to get the date of September 13. May not the difficulty lie rather in the *Veneris*? Had the original read *die veniente post octavas* etc., Monday, September 16th, would have been the day assigned. It may be observed that the reference to Friday the 13 in the sentence preceding the departure is not in contradiction with the proposed emendation; all that is implied therein is that the commune's guarding of the Pope came to an end on the 13th, not that he left Anagni on that day.

(43) *Tuscia*: William Hundleby here uses the term in the sense of the *Patrimonium S. Petri in Tuscia*, a region stretching from Radicofani in the north to Rome in the south, with the residence of its rector still at Montefiascone in the days of Pope Boniface, cf. Calisse in *ARSRSP*, 15 (1892), 5-70. The term was also used, however, for the territory in the vicinity of Lucca and Florence. Cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, III, 119, for such usage in 1304.

(44) *the Orsini . . on the side of the Pope*: Boniface's transfer from the Lateran to St. Peter's — a move noted by the Padua ms of Ptolomey, 1223D, and the Troyes ms, 61, as well as by Cardinal James Stefaneschi (in F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana* [Paderborn, 1921], p. 122) — placed him at the very heart of the Orsini territory in Rome. It was this geographic proximity, no doubt, which gave rise to the very detailed account of Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 155-160, about the Pope's having fallen prisoner to his neighbors. R. Holtzmann, *Nogaret*, 231, has shown the inaccuracies in Ferreto's tale, yet, as he indicates, some sort of surveillance on the part of the Orsini would seem to have been exercised. Whatever may be true of the family, there are no grounds for doubting Cardinal Matteo Rosso Orsini's continued loyalty to Boniface. Cf. Finke, *Aus den Tagen*, pp. 273-274, and Morghen in *ARSRSP*, 46 (1922), 351-352.

(45) *curtisans*: the term is here employed in the meaning listed by DuCange (ed. Favre, 1883), II, 589, s. v. *cortis*, 4, to describe those having some occupation at the papal court. Though William Hundleby was not himself an official of the Curia, as a resident procurator he would have had considerable business with the pontifical *data communis* — as well as with the *audientia*—on behalf of the Bishop of Lincoln. Cf. Robt. Fawtier's introduction to *Les Registres de Boniface VIII* (Paris, 1939), IV, xxxiii. For the beginnings of the system whereby prelates and princes maintained permanent representatives at Rome, cf. v. Heckel in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle* (Rome, 1924), II, 290-321, and Behrens in *The English Historical Review*, 49 (1934), 641-643; for the process whereby the Holy See came to be likened to the court of a lay sovereign, cf. K. Jordan, "Die Entstehung der römischen Kurie" in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.*, 59 (1939), 97-152.

(46) *thieves on all sides*: that there had been disturbances at Rome along with looting of the houses of cardinals upon receipt of the news that Boniface had been seized at Anagni, Benedict XI's *Register*, No. 1099, is witness. Even after the Pope's return to his see, the Vienne ms, 560, — which, like William Hundleby's letter, dates from the last weeks of Boniface's life—makes the observation: *Roma et tota terra est corrupta de predonibus et malefactoribus . . et nullum dominium est in terra.*

(47) *the senators of Rome*: i. e., Theobald Orsini and Alexis Bonaventura. The resignation was apparently but of short duration for by November 1303 they had resumed their functions, cf. A. Salimei: *Senatori e statuti di Roma nel medioevo: i senatori, 1144 al 1447* (Rome, 1935), p. 90. For

an account of the higher magistrates and the judiciary of Rome in this period, cf. A. de Boüard, *Le régime politique et les institutions de Rome au moyen-âge, 1252-1347* (Paris, 1920), pp. 133-158.

(48) *the Pope . . in great distress*: there is a legend, given currency by Ferreto (*op. cit.*, I, 161-163) and the Ambrosian ms of Ptolomey (in Rerum Italicarum scriptores [ed. 1727], XI, 1203-4), that prior to his death on October 12 Boniface lost his reason. Pipinus, 741C, indeed, adds the gruesome detail: *fertur enim quod . . in ipsis mortis angustiis, brachia corrodebat ut canis.* That little credit need be given such tales is evident both from Cardinal James Stefaneschi's testimony (in F. X. Seppelt, *Monumenta Coelestiniana*, p. 122) to Boniface's serenity at the moment of death as from the examination of the corpse in 1605 which showed conclusively that his members had been integral at the time of decease, cf. the *Instrumentum recognitionis* abridged in T. Bottagisio, *Bonifacio VIII e un celebre commentatore di Dante* (Milan, 1926), pp. 393-397.

(49) *no prospect that hearings will recommence:* this would indicate that there had been a suspension of the *audientia litterarum contradictarum* with which procurators had much to do, cf. Harry Bresslau: *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre für Deutschland und Italien* (2nd ed., Leipzig, 1912), I, 285. According to Villani (in Palmarocchi, *Cronisti*, p. 252), the Pope himself was occupied during these days with plans for a council that was to condemn the King of France. On the strength of the documents he publishes, Fedele contends, in *BISI*, 41 (1921), 219, that there is nothing to the story of Ferreto, *op. cit.*, I, 166, that Boniface was also busied about getting Frederick of Sicily to serve as an ally against the Angevin King Charles II of Naples. One notes, however, that an Aragon despatch of December 31, 1303, mentions the Neapolitan monarch's anxiety *propter aliquas res quas dominus rex Fredericus dicitur pertractasse cum domino papa qui ab hoc seculo transmigravit*, cf. Finke, *Acta Aragonensia*, I, 155. For the background of Boniface's relation with Angevin Italy, cf. J. Gay, "Notes sur le second royaume français de Sicilie et la papauté d'Urbain IV à Boniface VIII (1261-1302)," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga* (Paris, 1933), pp. 309-329.

HENRY G. J. BECK

Immaculate Conception Seminary
Darlington, New Jersey.

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Light from the Ancient Past. The Archeological Background of the Hebrew-Christian Religion. By JACK FINEGAN. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xxxiv, 500. $5.00.)

The author, a student of the late Hans Lietzmann, has accomplished no mean feat in unfolding in one volume a sweeping historical panorama from 5000 B.C. to 500 A.D., from the neolithic period of Tell Hassuna and Nineveh down to the Hagia Sophia rebuilt under Justinian. He tells the story exclusively from the point of view of archeology, but not in the sense that he gives merely a record of excavations. He describes a history of nations as known from archeology, fitting each into the proper historical *cadre*. The choice of nations is dictated by the Bible, since the book aims to supply the broad historical background of the Old Testament, and to some extent, the New Testament.

The story begins in Mesopotamia with a brief survey of the predynastic kingdoms of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. There is an informative contrast made between the Sumerian story of the flood (Ziusudra) and the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh (Utnapishtim). In the old Babylonian period (1830-1550), Hammurabi, the *Enuma Elish*, and the Nuzu tablets are treated and correlated with the Bible. The best chapter on Egypt deals with the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Worthy of note is the author's evaluation of the Tell-El-Amarna tablets, the stele of Merenptah, and the date of the exodus (with Albright, he holds for 1290 B.C.).

After an indication of the archeological periods of Palestine, many of the cities prominent in Josue's conquest of the Promised Land are discussed: Jericho, Ai and Bethel, Lachish, Debir, etc. The treatment accorded to Ras Shamra, while the great importance of this recent discovery is emphasized, is rather brief; the Lachish letters fare better.

The general historical outline of the empires of Assyria, Neo-Babylonia, and Persia is sketched, with emphasis laid on the relations of these empires to Israel and Juda. A wealth of archeological material (obelisk of Shalmeneser III, Sennacherib's prism, etc.) is described and correlated with texts of the Bible. Coming down to New Testament times, where the author seems more at home, one finds a description of the towns which figured prominently in our Lord's life, notably the towns of Galilee, the Decapolis, Jerusalem, and the temple of Herod.

The author follows St. Paul on his journeys through Asia Minor (the north Galatian theory is "less probable") and Greece to Rome itself, offering the latest data which shed light on *Acts* and the Pauline corpus. The chapter entitled "Manuscripts Found in the Sand," is a history of the text

of the New Testament, illustrated particularly in the case of the Epistle to the Romans. The debt of New Testament scholars to the great papyri discoveries is indicated and the chief uncial manuscripts along with the Chester Beatty papyri are described. The volume concludes with some seventy pages about the catacombs and churches of Rome, and the major churches of the Near East. Not all archeologists of the early Church will agree with the authors adherence to the views of Professor Paul Styger.

The book has many things in its favor: it is highly readable, and yet weighted down with an enormous bibliography, which will be very handy for reference, and with copious footnotes; it contains generous selections from ancient sources (e.g., the epitaph of Abercius), six adequate maps, and over 200 excellent illustrations; the author is completely abreast of modern archeological conclusions and problems. One might say that *Light from the Ancient Past* has combined in one volume the assets of the works by Barton, Kenyon, Burrows, and Albright, to mention only a few. On the other hand, Catholic readers will not find themselves in agreement with the author's liberal attitude towards the Bible. He does not voice radical views explicitly, but throughout there is a definite flavor of modern rationalism. Many of the conclusions adopted by the author, often with a great deal of qualifications, are by no means beyond controversy, e.g., dating the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul in 64 A.D. Hence, while this volume will appeal to the general reader, it should be read with some discernment.

ROLAND E. MURPHY

Whitefriars Hall
Washington, D. C.

History of the Catholic Church. By Fernand Mourret, S.S. Translated from the French by Newton Thompson. Volume VI. *Period of the Ancient Regime.* (St. Louis. B. Herder Book Co. 1945. Pp. viii, 656. $4.00)

Volume VI of the Mourret-Thompson series, covering the period from 1600 to 1789, is divided into three parts: "The Catholic Renaissance," embracing the first half of the seventeenth century; "Orthodoxy," the second half; and "The Strife Against Unbelief," carrying the narrative to the outbreak of the French Revolution. Each of the three divisions begins with a chronicle of the Popes of the period. "The Catholic Renaissance" reviews the life of the Church in Spain, Italy, and Germany, the reform of the clergy and the diversification of charitable zeal in France, missions in foreign lands, and the intellectual ferment. "Orthodoxy" presents studies on Protestantism, Gallicanism, Jansenism, and Quietism. "The Strife Against Unbelief" records under names and movements such

as Port Royal, Descartes, Locke, Febronianism, Josephism, the *Encyclopedia,* and Freemasonry and the development of anti-clericalism and atheism, and the Catholic opposition to these evils spearheaded by such giants as St. Paul of the Cross, St. Alphonsus Liguori, St. Clement Hofbauer, and St. John Baptist de LaSalle. The volume ends with brief notices on the eastern churches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In this volume we meet again the various features that have made Mourret's history popular. There is still the sweeping synthesis and the pointed statement: "In Voltaire was incarnate the genius of destruction; in Rousseau, that of "Utopia;" "Between Luther, the mystical Protestant, whose ambition was limited to reforming the Church, and Jean Jacques Rousseau, the Social Protestant, whose aim was nothing less than the transformation of Society, Cromwell was the Political Protestant, whose ideas were translated into government." There is still the clear love for the Church and the equally clear determination to be fair to its opponents: Arndt was a tender and mystic soul; Jacob Spenner combined the piety of a mystic and the organizing genius of a statesman. As in previous volumes, the story of the Church is not divorced from its mundane milieu. As a result, we learn a surprising amount of secular history and many odd bits of information, such as the little-known fact that Louis XIV was excommunicated. Special studies of important topics are again a feature, with highest honors going to the treatises on Jansenism and Galileo.

The mechanical format of the book richly deserves a word of praise. The type is sufficiently large, the spacing ample. Relaxation while reading Father Thompson's smooth translation is possible. An exhaustive index makes for easy reference.

Turning now to seeming deficiencies, we find it hard to escape the conclusion that the Church in France receives a disproportionate prominence. To be sure, the seventeenth was pre-eminently the century of the Gallican Church, but, to cite one example, is it fair to set out in detail the relations between the French court and the Church and to oversimplify the "Glorious Revolution" in England? Does the organization of the book really reveal the unifying theme of the Ancient Regime: the clash between the Church and the absolute state and the marshalling of forces to meet this conflict? Implicitly, yes; explicitly, no. But the explicit treatment would have made for clarity and interest. Deism, no small part of the Ancient Regime, receives only passing notice in connection with Freemasonry. Las Casas would have been more completely delineated had Mourret mentioned that the great missionary exaggerated the cruelty of the Spaniards in order to gain sympathy for the Indians and that he later repented his suggestion that Negro slavery be substituted for enforced Indian labor. The last section on the eastern churches very probably will satisfy no one. To those already acquainted with these

churches, the survey will be elementary; to those seeking first information, it will be little more than a bewildering catalogue of odd names.

However, any list of deficiencies will be small when compared to the many merits of this volume. This book — and the whole Mourret-Thompson series — can be highly recommended as sound, orthodox, and interesting church history.

John Carroll University FREDERICK E. WELFLE

GENERAL HISTORY

The State in Catholic Thought. By HEINRICH A. ROMMEN. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1945. Pp. viii, 747. $6.00.)

Dr. Rommen has performed a genuine service to English-speaking Catholics. His work is the most comprehensive and scholarly one that has been produced in the field of Catholic political thought in the English language during recent years. Almost all the great works in this field have appeared in languages other than English, particularly in French and German, and, unfortunately, most of them remain untranslated.

In the important field of political science Catholic universities have been singularly weak. Where it has found a place it has often been combined with practical economics under the general heading of political economy, or has been one sector of the field of history, or it has been treated as a poor relation in that confused *omnium gatherum* known as sociology. The result has been a great void in Catholic education in a field where Catholic teaching would be of great value to the American commonwealth, or a most amazing and fantastic misapplication by large numbers of educated Catholics of principles in the field of practical politics. To take one instance, note the general talk about communism in which university and college trained Catholics indulge; it is doubtful if more than one in a hundred knows what communism is.

The first part of Professor Rommen's work is devoted to the philosophical foundations of politics such as "The Idea of Man," "Political Theology," "Origin and Growth of the Idea of Natural Law," "Organic View of the State," and other concepts. In the second part of the work he considers the philosophy of the state proper and among other things treats of "The Origin of the State," "The State as a Perfect Society," "The Nature of the Common Good" (a difficult and much disputed concept very well handled), "The Theory of Political Authority" and "Sovereignty." Part III treats of Church and State. He concludes the work, in Part IV, with an extensive consideration of "The Community of Nations."

On "The Community of Nations," Dr. Rommen writes with restraint and with no little pessimism. For a world state he shows neither great sympathy nor great hope. The concept he regards as utopian. There is no recognition given to the theme now heard among certain Catholics

that the present nation-state cannot in the fullest sense be called a *societas perfecta*, and that modern conditions have created such an interdependency among nations that only a world state is today a perfect society. Whether the idea of a world state is utopian or not, never before in the past 500 years have more people held to it as the only means to international peace. Despite all past failures and present difficulties, all phases of the theory should be completely and objectively considered.

Professor Rommen believes that the temptation to propound a universal world monarchy was strong during the Middle Ages. It was stronger than he would lead us to believe. It fairly haunted the mediaeval mind. In the early Middle Ages it was taken as an existing institution, however far from actual reality it may have been. The term "state" in our own sense had no meaning to the people of the year 1000. There was one universal political and one universal spiritual order. The idea of world political community should, indeed, have a far more familiar ring for Catholics than for non-Catholics of various Protestant groups which were in so many cases the offspring of modern nationalist sentiment.

The whole work is thorough, but from time to time Dr. Rommen's style becomes involved and suffers consequent loss of clarity. The references are largely to German authorities with whom most English and Amercian readers will not be well acquainted. A fuller use of other authorities would further enrich the work. Professor Rommen's book, because of its splendid fullness, affords a basic text for a good one-year course in introductory political science. Even were it to do no more than this, it would, indeed, have done its work well.

JEROME G. KERWIN

University of Chicago

Laudes Regiae, A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship. By ERNEST H. KANTOROWICZ. University of California Publications in History, Volume XXXIII. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1946. Pp. xxi, 292. $3.00.)

The *laudes regiae* are the mediaeval variant of the acclamations tendered to the Roman emperors. Their framework is that of the Anglo-Irish penitential litany of the saints. This litany lost its penitential as well as purely liturgical character and became liturgico-political in the Gallo-Frankish Church under the impact of the hierarchical-theocratic tendency which began in the West when Pepin at his sacring assumed the role of biblical king. The litany then became a series of invocations to "the conquering God—Christ the victor, ruler, and commander—and acclaim in him, with him, or through him his imperial or royal vicars on earth along with all the other powers conquering, ruling, commanding, and safeguarding the order of this present world: the pope and the bishops, the ruler's house, the

clergy, the princes, the judges, and the army" (p. 14). This homage to the David-kings soon wandered, however, from the Frankish palace chapel to St. Peter's with the coronation of the indignant Charlemagne. The *laudes* were imperialized and although Charles aimed at being "Emperor of Aachen" the Holy See which had created his empire, also saw to it that the "vocal accompaniment" of mediaeval ruler worship was Romanized. The next step in the history of the *laudes* can best be stated in the words of the author. "In Rome . . . another image began to arise. At the time of Pepin's anointment the most fateful and influential document of the Middle Ages was invented: the Donation of Constantine. This great forgery prepared the way toward a new stage of mediaeval ruler cult. For more than two centuries, beginning in the eleventh, the papal mirage of *sacerdos et imperator* was to sway the world and to fascinate the Roman pontiffs" (p. 64).

What was the significance of these *laudes?* Did they have a constitutive effect? Originally they were only the expression of an ecclesiastico-legal act, namely, the assent of the Church. They placed a seal on the sacring of the Church, but were not in themselves king-making, being chanted after the actual sacring, between the collect and the epistle of the Mass. The acclamation of the people was the constitutive and legal act. The legal import of the chant changed in Rome. There on Christmas day of the year 800 "the Frankish litany . . . reverted to the constitutive acclaim of the emperors which it had been originally; and the token of Frankish David-kingship came back to Rome as an instrument of statecraft by means of which, according to papal conception, the *Imperium Romanum* was legally turned over to a new Emperor of the Romans" (p. 103).

At all events, the *laudes* became a part of the ceremonial of imperial and royal coronations. The contents did not, however, become static. Different times and different countries shifted the arrangement of the various acclaims, the phalanx of saints, and the nature and import of the chants. Kantorowicz discusses many of these variants, especially those of Dalmatia and Venice and the *laudes* of the Norman realms of Sicily, Normandy, and England. He also devotes a large section to what he calls "one of the queerest customs of the Middle Ages, the coronamenta or festival coronations of emperors and kings" (p. 92).

Nor was the king or emperor alone acclaimed. Prior to the adoption of the *laudes* in the West acclamations had played an important role in the election of a bishop, in fact, they had "definitely constitutive power" (p. 119), as witness the election of St. Ambrose. Eventually these acclamations becamed formalized, and in the process the temptation to borrow luster from the *laudes regiae* could not be resisted. But the episcopal *laudes* were not universally the same.

The most remarkable transformation was that undergone by the episcopal *laudes* tendered to the Pope. They actually became imperialized when the Pope had become a crowned head as a result of the reform Papacy. The liturgical prestige of the emperor faded with the rise of the papal power. "The abrogation of the priestly essence resident in the emperor's office presents itself as a long process at the end of which we find the name of Innocent III" (p. 143). The office of emperor was despiritualized. And his *laudes regiae* were papalized.

Such is, of necessity, a brief summary of the learned author's main line of argument. Kantorowicz himself does not make the story of the *laudes* and acclamations in the Middle Ages as simple as all that. His years of research in the mediaeval field have yielded a rich harvest of material on this rarely discussed topic. His copious notes give us the itinerary of the scholar. The analysis of the minutiae as well as of the major trends of his subject was bound to lead him into excursions and into fields that cannot even be mentioned in a short review. Topics that would not fit into the main stream of his treatment of the subject matter are discussed in four appendices by Kantorowicz—Notes on the diffusion of the *Christus Vincit* legend on coins, the normal finale of the *Exultet*, the nations in the *Laudes* and the Order of Cencius II, the Franco-Burgundian *laudes*—and one, the longest, on the music of the *laudes* with musical transcriptions, by Manfred F. Bukofzer. The work is further enriched by fifteen plates. Bibliography and index are, of course, excellent.

VICTOR GELLHAUS

St. Benedict's College

William Morris, Medievalist and Revolutionary. By MARGARET R. GRENNAN. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1945. Pp. x, 173. $2.50.)

In the groping for a better world which characterized the middle decades of the nineteenth century, many solutions and schemes were offered. Among these was a neo-mediaevalist movement which looked to the past as a vast storehouse of concepts helpful in solving modern problems. Miss Grennan has attempted to show how this movement was brought to a focus in William Morris who used the mediaeval theme more often than any other writer.

The book naturally divides itself into two parts: Morris as a mediaevalist and Morris as an exponent of socialism. In the first portion the author traces the influences which prompted Morris to turn to the Middle Ages, originally from a romantic preoccupation with the past for its own sake, later from a pragmatic concern for the past for the sake of the present and the future. The second portion presents the application of the

mediaeval theme for the erection of a better world in the future. Poems, sagas, and prose romances issued from the pen of Morris until his ideas reached their culmination in the *News from Nowhere*, an imaginative journey into a utopia of the twenty-first century. Crowded industrial cities will disappear, nations as we know them will cease to exist, government will become increasingly more automatic. Justice to labor will be the foundation of the new society—a society where from each will be taken according to his talents and to each will be given according to his needs.

The title of the book is provocative, but a perusal of the work gives rise to the question whether Morris was actually a mediaevalist or a revolutionary. Admiration for the Gothic architecture of the Middle Ages and the belief that mediaeval guilds produced ideal economic conditions do not, *ipso facto*, constitute a mediaevalist. Equally important is a proper understanding of the interdependence of the spiritual and the temporal in the lives of men, an appreciation of the spiritual consciousness of the Middle Ages. That Morris lacked this understanding and appreciation is evident from Miss Grennan's answer to the question: *quid est homo?* "Man, as he is defined time and again by implication in Morris' prose, is an animal, albeit a remarkable one." Similarly indicative is Morris' attitude towards the Church. For him the Church served one main purpose in the Middle Ages, namely, the social function of enforcing the responsibility of class to class. The Church, however, has no place in his utopian scheme, for Christianity was an historical phase through which the world has already passed or all but passed.

Next, was Morris a revolutionary? The book presents him as a man envisioning a better world, but hardly a revolutionary. "Morris is always stronger in picturing the end, than in prescribing the means" (p. 152). The book not only fails to convince that its subject was a revolutionary, but raises a doubt as to whether he was even a socialist. G. K. Chesterton, who admired the utopian scheme of land distribution, wrote concerning Morris: "Modern England will never exhaust her debt to William Morris. He was a very great Distributist. There seems to be a certain idea prevalent that he was a socialist. Indeed it was so prevalent that he was partly deceived by it himself."

ANTHONY F. CZAJKOWSKI

St. Louis University

The United States and Britain. By CRANE BRINTON, Professor of History, Harvard University. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1945. Pp. xii, 305. $2.50.)

The high standard set by Professor Brinton in his historical writing is admirably upheld in this first volume of the American Foreign Policy

Library, the immediate background of which was his two-year wartime mission to England. The book is not primarily history, but rather a general plan for Anglo-American co-operation in the preservation of world order. Hence it is not directly intended for professional historians or for students of international affairs, but rather for the average reader, to give him the information necessary to do his own thinking concerning the future of relations between the United States and Great Britain. In this the book succeeds admirably. Avoiding technical language and abstract problems, its wealth of information is made accessible to the layman.

At this point of decline in the traditional position of British leadership in world affairs, it is imperative for Americans, some of whom have been rather critical of recent British diplomacy, to understand the new problems Britain faces. Since the welfare of the United States will be determined by the policies of other nations seeking security and by the willingness of these nations to co-operate with her, understanding the British is especially important at this time. Mr. Brinton in his book provides a definite impetus toward reaching this understanding, for his aim is to alleviate friction by giving the peoples of both countries the chance to analyze their differences and similarities. His familiarity with the English temperament is evident, as is shown by the skill with which he points out the underlying basic resemblances of Englishmen and Americans. He stresses the absurdity of such oversimplification as reducing the British to the caricature of popular fiction. By separating the composite hodge-podge of English people into groups so that they can be examined more carefully, Professor Brinton shows that after all the Britisher is not too different from us.

Through the medium of history, geography, politics, statistics, economics, social factors, religion, and culture Mr. Brinton attempts to further vitally necessary Anglo-American co-operation. He gives the factors responsible for the change in the relations of the two countries, explains the policies of each country with regard to the other, and indicates possible points of agreement and disagreement in the future, showing what economic and political relations can do toward diminishing world anarchy. Problems that might arise over petty differences of opinion are stressed to show the need for clear, patient thinking by citizens of both countries if they are to continue working together in peace as they did in war.

In fine, if many Americans in private life as well as in positions of governmental responsibility were to read this book and sincerely consider its suggestions, the solution of many specific problems of Anglo-American relations would be wholly possible.

HOWARD J. STROTT

St. Louis University

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Marie Stuart, By PAULE HENRY-BORDEAUX. (Montreal: Les Editions Variétés by arrangement with the Librairie Plon, Paris. 1944. Pp. 444.)

One of Mary Stuart's best popular biographers, Miss F. A. Maccun, has said almost everything of her subject when she wrote: "Again and again her story has been told, one strange and pitiful and of undying interest. Volumes have been written to prove her innocence, and counter volumes to prove her guilty, but innocent or guilty, she has never lost her hold over the imaginations of men."

Mary Stuart's hold on mens' imaginations, whether for love or hatred, has in fact been a serious handicap to most of her historians. This volume, though not by a man, is no exception to the rule. Perhaps a new book on the Queen of Scots is not so out of place in France where research on the subject has been on the whole, less wearisomely repetitious and, above all, less fanatical in tone, than in English since Froude called her every name known to his academic Billingsgate, and the now forgotten Meline completely demolished Froude as far as Mary Stuart is concerned. They were succeeded by Henderson and Lang, Hosack and Sir John Skelton, and all these first-class scholars, whatever view they took of the "guilt or innocence" question, wrote in full reaction against Froude, and were very friendly toward "our queen who was so lovesome," in Sir James Melville's phrase. The fascination had begun to work even in the study and the lecture-hall.

In the case of such a woman, the elements of mystery and legend, to say nothing of shameless calumny, play major roles, especially if we recall that at least two contemporary sources, Knox and George Buchanan, were professionals in slander. This reviewer has no wish to add his bit either of gushing "Marialotry" or Froudian (not to say Freudian) venom to the long, discordant chorus. She was charming, reckless, and most unfortunate; like many people from a bitterly controversial past who have been too much written up, she has become a bit of a bore, and we devoutly wish that the historians would now let her rest in peace in Westminster Abbey. Poor woman! After six years of lurid tragedy in Scotland, after John Knox "with one foot in hell," after Darnley and Bothwell, after her base half-brother and most insidious enemy, Moray (Froude's stainless hero) after Queen Elizabeth, and nineteen years of illegal captivity in England—to be officially memorialized by a spiteful hireling of bad morals, Buchanan, by Froude, and by Algernon Charles Swinburne, is a little too much! The infuriated scholarship of two continents has not prevented the *Encyclopedia Britannica* from including Swinburne's article on Mary Stuart in its latest edition, although Andrew

Lang's important one on the Casket Letters has long since been dropped. As Lady Bracknell says in Wilde's farce: "One has known strange errors in that publication."

Actually it is an idle task, some 350 years after the event, to try to penetrate the mystery of Mary Stuart. The heart of her mysery, as everyone knows, consists in a certain fact and a certain assumption. The fact is that, on the night of February 9, 1567, the house of Kirk O'Field, occupied by her husband, "King" Henry Darnley, was blown up with gunpowder, and Darnley's body, unscorched by powder, was discovered in a nearby field, strangled, together with his page. The assumption is that the queen was cognizant and accessory to the deed because in love with the Earl of Bothwell, one of the principal agents of the murder, whom she married three months later. The principal evidence against her are the so-called Casket Letters, to the number of eight, discovered by the Earl of Morton, one of the murderers. If these letters are genuine, they prove her complicity. Andrew Lang, who was sympathetic to her cause, and was the most patient and profound of her innumerable historians, decided that the crucial and damaging Letter II was partly authentic, partly forged; then he retracted his opinion, and asserted (in the eleventh edition of the *Britannica)* that she wrote the whole letter. The defense has been gallantly carried on since by General Mahon in two books on the subject (1923-1924) but it is wholly impossible to say that either her guilt or her innocence has been proved to date, or is likely to be proved in the future.

This is the enigma which makes such works as Mlle Henry-Bordeaux's recent volume seem slightly superogatory. It is 444 pages in length, densely written, infinitely detailed, and very well documented without, however, sufficient direct citation of the documents in question. Only a student, almost uncannily familiar with the subject, could track down all of Mlle Henry-Bordeaux's unnamed sources, for there are neither bibliography, footnotes, nor appendices, and never did a book on a peculiarly tenebrous matter require them more. Their absence augments the opportunity for possible and even palpable errors either of fact or of interpretation. "One is reduced here to suppositions," writes the author more than once. Precisely: there are too many of these "suppositions." Mlle Henry-Bordeaux is frankly, and even aggressively for the Marian defence in all respects, as much as John Hosack or Sir Edward Parry, but the latter would hesitate to parry the accusation that Mary decoyed her husband from Glasgow to Kirk O'Field by stating that she loved him still ("et parce qu' elle l'aime encore," p. 145) whereas she was sickened of him *usque ad mortem.* Assuming her culpability, there is no more mystery in her standing aside and letting Darnley be murdered than in Leicester standing aside and letting Amy Robsart be murdered, or in Queen

Elizabeth standing aside in 1587 and letting Mary herself be murdered. Finally, Mlle Henry-Bordeaux's *Marie Stuart* is written throughout in that warm, dramatic, picturesque, rather sentimental and too personal manner in which a French author is often adept, but which seems unsuitable in a biography of so controversial a subject. We come back to the fact that Mary Stuart's story has not only been told "again and again;" it has, perhaps, been told once too often.

CUTHBERT WRIGHT

Assumption College
Worcester

The Trollopes. The Chronicle of a Writing Family. By LUCY POATE STEBBINS and RICHARD POATE STEBBINS. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 394. $4.00.)

The Trollopes is a remarkable book; it is both scholarly and warmly human. Less skilled biographers might have been swamped in the wealth of detail that has accumulated about a writing family whose activities cover over a hundred years, but the Stebbins' have skillfully handled their material. They have marshalled the facts with the competence of the historian and suggested the overtones with the psychological insight of the novelist. The result of their discipline and discrimination is a readable and lively account of a group of interesting people whose vitality and activity held the attention of several generations of Victorian readers. This new biography gets at the root of a tremendous literary productivity, and at the same time makes a claim on the modern reader for a reconsideration of the Trollope clan.

A gallery of portraits emerges. There is Mrs. Trollope, mother of Anthony, the versatile, extravagant, impetuous woman whose great courage and literary resourcefulness pulled her family time and again out of the pit into which—it must be acknowledged—some of her less attractive qualities were in part responsible for casting them. There is Tom Trollope, her son, closely associated with his mother in her literary ventures, who made a name for himself as an historian, and a fortune for himself as a journalist and novelist; who maintained a magnificent home—the Villino Trollope—outside Florence, and entertained the literati at parties presided over by his exotic and charming wife Theodosia. And there is Anthony, first, the lonely, sensitive child; then, the disgruntled postal clerk; later, the indefatigable huntsman and the prolific novelist, who created the world of Barsetshire and peopled it with characters from his years of shrewd and often acid observation. A host of other figures crowd the generous canvas. Some are Trollope in-laws, who also developed the family penchant for rapid and successful writing; others are

nineteenth-century notables, including Landon, Browning, Thackeray, and the Lewes.

The first part of the book centers about Mrs. Trollope and the story of her marriage to Thomas Anthony Trollope, a barrister with a taste for historical writing and no taste for practical affairs. There was real affection in the marriage, but not enough understanding; and Thomas was alternately raised and depressed by the incessant activity of his bustling and cheerful wife. He lapsed into bankruptcy, silence, and melancholia, and at his death Mrs. Trollope continued her family rule with no appreciable change. By her novels and travel books she wrote her family out of debt, and set the precedent for rapid—and profitable—composition. Tom followed her example, and soon Anthony was at work, although he kept his efforts to himself for some time. The greater part of the book is given to Anthony's development as a person and as a novelist—and on both scores the Stebbins' succeeded. We see Anthony as the large, bearded, gruff-voiced, near-sighted man—almost childishly proud of the self-discipline that could keep him to a set number of words each day, despite the demands of his responsible position in the Post Office, his hobby of hunting twice weekly, and his family affairs. We see the real concern he had for character—"I care only for men and women"—an insight into motivation sometimes obscured for us by the more mechanical features of his style. We follow him on his travels—all profitably recorded and usually with pre-arranged publishing terms—to Africa, Australia, and America.

This "Chronicle of a Writing Family" has the added merit of not exaggerating the importance of its subject, or subjects. The Trollopes are not forced to appear prophetic. They had little of the insight that makes some of the Victorians so valuable to us today. They fitted more comfortably than most into the nineteenth-century scheme of things, and whatever restlessness they experienced found its outlet in fiction rather than in vision. They did not share the moral indignation of a Carlyle or the social conscience of an Arnold. They accepted with aplomb many ideas we half wish they had resented. But this honest presentation of them in their undeniable talents and their equally undeniable limitations, makes the book valuable as a study of nineteenth-century life, where reality is not lost through any attempt to heighten the significance of the actors in the drama. The Trollopes are not in the first rank of Victorian writers. But Anthony is still worth study, and the Stebbins' book will send many readers back to Barsetshire.

MARGARET R. GRENNAN

Hunter College

AMERICAN HISTORY

Winthrop Papers, Volume III, *1631-1637*; Volume IV, *1638-1644*. Edited by ALLYN BAILEY FORBES. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1943-1944. Pp. xl, 544; xl, 531. $5.00 per volume.)

The publication of these volumes of the *Winthrop Papers* again calls attention to the project on which the Massachusetts Historical Society has for over a score of years been at work, viz., the publication of the Winthrop manuscripts in chronological arrangement. The first two volumes appeared as far back as 1929 and 1931; even the change of the editorial board during more recent years both evidences the earlier policy and the new excellence. One important change, which some historians may deplore, but which is amply justified, is the elimination of piecemeal insertion of Winthrop's *History* in these papers. While it undoubtedly would have added to completeness, its reflection of a much later period of writing in Winthrop's life introduced disharmony and a lack of continuity into the overall structure. For their staunch adherence to this new policy, the board of editors are to be congratulated.

The importance of the material contained in these volumes for the understanding of early New England history cannot be overestimated. Volume III contains fifty-two documents printed for the first time, while Volume IV has 101. Even the casual reader will enjoy the items of human interest; scholars will revel in the accurate, vital picture of the nascent colony. These first experimental years, 1631-1637, were fraught with such hardship that even the English friends seriously doubted the possibility of survival of the new plantation. As the more favorable reports began to trickle in, these friends, caught in the maelstrom of constantly turbulent English religious politics, began to see the chance of a new life across the ocean and occupied themselves with the thoughts of and preparations for coming to Massachusetts. In the subsequent period, 1638-1644, there were further troubles in New England, the natural outgrowth of the heterogeneous character of the early settlers, which boded ill for a time the continued success of the plantation. Details of this are known to all students and little new in documentation has been here added.

The important additions, afforded by these volumes, are the shadings and the overtones in the lives of father and son, John Winthrop, Sr., and Jr. Their devotion to public enterprise, their interest in the genuine economic development of the plantation so that it would be as self-sufficient as possible, the sacrifice of their own personal fortunes to secure the continuance of the settlement, the interest and influence of John, Sr., in the political controversy over the negative vote and the discretionary authority of the magistrates and the broad scientific ventures of John, Jr., provide the warmth and personalization that makes the study of this plantation now a study of human beings rather than of automata jerked

by the uncertain strings of a dynamic but pointless religious controversy.

There are many who will severely criticize the Massachusetts Historical Society for its interest, effort, and expenditure in this field, especially as not more than 200 new—and none of them breath-taking—documents appear in the two volumes. But it represents a realization that these Winthrop pioneers and their successors, through their interests and controversies and political ideals, eventually gave to the nation a political philosophy which has colored our subsequent development. However much we cavil at this philosophy, we cannot understand American history, especially the kaleidoscopic nineteenth and the seething twentieth centuries, unless we can trace this development step by step from earliest times. Interest in colonial history has recently been steadily declining—in fact, now the emphasis on its study is reserved to the pre-junior high school period—and in its place has come an emphasis on the humanitarianism and the expansion of the nineteenth century, inexplicable except against the warp and woof, so painstakingly and so picayunely woven in the colonial period. To make easier the fruitful study of that colonial period, so necessary to an understanding of the conflicting forces that emerged in the nineteenth and are now so bitterly battling in the twentieth centuries, the Massachusetts Historical Society has rendered a real service to true scholars.

ARTHUR J. RILEY

St. John's Seminary
Brighton

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume LXVII. *October, 1941—May, 1944.* (Boston: Published by the Society, 1945. Pp. xiv, 686.)

This volume includes twenty papers, chronologically arranged by subject, which were read before the society over a two and a half year span, and the minutes of the meetings for that period. The council report to the Society's annual meeting in April, 1942, commenting on the adjustments needed to meet the wartime emergency, expresses the earnest desire that the society should continue to discharge its "obligations to the scholarly world" (p. 590). This volume is substantial evidence that it has succeeded in its aim.

Many of the papers, restricted in their appeal, fall outside the scope of this review, but it would be a mistake to dismiss them for that reason, since each one brings added light to some problem in historical thought or shows signs of sincere scholarship. Allen French's paper, "The Arms and Military Training of Our Colonizing Ancestors," is a careful study of a period when the military art was undergoing marked change. Having excellent bibliographical notes, it represents the type of research to be expected of the author of *The First Year of the Revolution.* In an essay showing the probable influence of the early foreign policy ideas of John

Quincy Adams on Washington's Farewell Address, Samuel Flagg Bemis proves a small point very well, comparing extracts in parallel columns to good advantage.

The two papers dealing with Civil War subjects highlight the volume, in this reviewer's opinion. Allan Nevins, in a study entitled "The U. S. Sanitary Commission and Secretary Stanton," indirectly suggests the value of the diary, "as yet unpublished," of George Templeton Strong, the commission's treasurer. Strong was a man of decided opinions, according to extracts from the diary. He thought Stanton "rather pig-faced" but preferred him to Cameron, who looked like a "hybrid between Reineke Fuchs and some large chilly batrachian reptile" (p. 410). The war years of this diary, at least, seem to merit publication.

Roscoe Pound's paper, "Bureaus and Bureau Methods in the Civil War Era," is a gem. Six basic characteristics of War Department bureaus in action are outlined and illustrated by decidedly well-chosen examples. That they will have a familiar ring to veterans of World War II may be pure coincidence.

Theodore Clarke Smith's "The War Debate of 1937-1941 and its Lessons," read in February, 1942, professes to present "a tentative outline of what the known facts suggest" (p. 514). Its thesis appears to be that isolationist arguments, although based on American tradition, broke on the Gibraltar of presidential omniscience or were swept aside by the inexorable tide of events. Admittedly a superficial view of the problem, it hardly justifies such a stricture on the Catholic clergy as: "Their hostility to Communism was greater than their resentment over the indignities and outrages inflicted by the Nazis on the German Catholics" (p. 536). Future research will, no doubt, be directed toward the less obvious but more effective activity of the interventionists.

Well-executed illustrations increase the value of several papers, especially Sheppard Pond's "Pretenders to the French Throne in Numismatics." The volume has a thorough index.

ALLAN J. DOHERTY

Boston English High School

Mexican Gold Trail. The Journal of a Forty-Niner. By GEORGE W. B. EVANS. Edited by GLENN S. DUMKE, with a preface by ROBERT GLASS CLELAND. (San Marino: Huntington Library. 1945. Pp. xx, 340. $5.00.)

The publication of the Evans diary makes an interesting and substantial addition to the increasing literature of the gold rush. In a prefatory note, we are informed by Dr. Robert G. Cleland—certainly a competent student of Californiana—that Evans has here made "three unusually valuable contributions. . . . His account of the overland journey, especially along

the wild, little-used trail from Eagle Pass to Chihuahua, is far above the average of the gold-rush narratives in vividness and realism of description. Despite a very limited experience in the mountains, he gives a better picture of mining practices and mining camps than one finds in some of the best-known journals of the forty-niners. Finally, Evans' account of conditions in Sacramento in 1849 and the early part of 1850 adds a valuable chapter to the history of that important gateway city" (p. xi).

The fact that the author wrote this diary with the intention of eventual publication causes one to ponder at times if some of the details are not just a bit theatrical—written with an obvious glance in the direction of reader interest. It is hard to feel that well-nigh gripping suspense in reading these pages that sometimes mark one's progress through the pages of a diary written only for private perusal. There is here, then, a feeling at times of literary artificiality; this does not detract, though, from the essential worth of the narrative. Although not always or entirely the "fascinating journal" promised us on the attractively-designed cover (blurbs will be blurbs), there are pages in this diary which are of high interest, indeed. We are given a substantially complete account of the peregrinations of a staunch, young Protestant pioneer from Ohio as he went over the weary trail to El Dorado from February to October, 1849. And the account is the more interesting because Evans and his group chose to travel along the less-known "Mexican Gold Trail."

George W. B. Evans was a convinced chauvinist and Calvinist. He shows abundant evidence of each facet of his character and thought. He rivals George Bancroft himself when, finally at rest in the Mariposa diggings, he indulges in some patriotic reading and thus apostrophizes our founding fathers: "Glorious and immortal band, your efforts proved successful, and you can now look from your exalted rest, from the Heaven of Heavens, upon the millions in the full enjoyment of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' " (p. 240). And there are other entries which vie with the above in their almost fierce patriotism.

The Calvinistic bias, understandable under the circumstances, provides interest and a touch of amusement entirely unintended by the author. His evangelical soul cries out in alarm as he enters some Mexican houses along the way and finds that "in each house may be seen a revolting image, representing the crucifixion of our Saviour, which is worshipped instead of God" (p. 79). He strongly suspects that the deluded Mexicans are the victims of a "cunning (p. 113) . . . and crafty (p. 123) priesthood." Special delight will come to the present or past student of the weighty theological treatise, *De paenitentia,* when he reads the following account by Evans of confession of sins to a priest:

> Six chairs, looking like boxes with an open front . . . were devoted to the use of the priest and penitent in confession. The priest took his

seat, and on giving a signal, a small door opened either on the right or the left of his holy head, and his ear was graciously inclined to hear the words of the lady making her confession and asking him to intercede with the Holy Virgin and other saints in her behalf. As soon as he had drank in all that was deemed necessary, he waved his hand as a token of silence ("deinde te absolvo" was never given a more facile interpretation!) and the same ceremony was again gone through . . ." (p. 100).

Glenn S. Dumke has written an intelligent and informative introduction and annotated the narrative. The format is in keeping with the high standards maintained by the Huntington Library publications.

JOHN B. MCGLOIN

University of San Francisco

William Sylvis, Pioneer of American Labor. A Study of the Labor Movement during the Era of the Civil War. By JONATHAN GROSSMAN. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. Pp. 302. $3.50.)

In the formative stages of any movement leaders are important in directing its development and in determining its future. This is the story of just such a man. Yet this book is hardly a biography in the usual sense, but rather a study of the public career of William S. Sylvis as viewed in the setting of the labor scene of the Civil War era. Its subtitle is, therefore, likewise deceptive. However, it remains a scholarly, but still readable work, based on records of various meetings and conventions and the important workers' papers of that day. The nature of these indicate how the author was hindered from giving a detailed life of this pioneer American labor leader. The few more intimate glimpses of his personality that are given are apt to make one feel that a colorful figure has been half lost to history due to the lack of more personal manuscript sources. For example, in one instance, Sylvis dubbed an adversary a "peevish, petulant, peccable, pussillanimous, persecuting puppy."

The three principal phases of Sylvis' work for organized labor are seen in his struggle for straight trade unionism, his hope in co-operative endeavor, and, finally—perhaps his greatest contribution to the movement—his advocacy of the National Labor Union. His activities in these fields which were often contemporaneous, are discussed by the author in topical order, but without the frequent penalty of repetition. Young Sylvis rose to be treasurer of the National Iron Moulders' Union before 1861, but the Civil War brought dissolution to the union, and disillusion to Sylvis who thought the poor had to bear its chief burdens. After being elected president of the moulders' organization in 1863 he brought about its revival by his remarkable tours of the country. In his administra-

tive work Mr. Grossman finds the ground plan of much of present-day trade union management technique. The failure of the strike as the union's chief tactic, due to organized employer opposition, diverted Sylvis after 1866 to seeking in co-operation, "the foundation of our organization and the prime object of all our efforts." It was in the same year that with leaders of other internationals he sought to make concrete their vision of united labor in the formation of the National Labor Union. He became its president in 1868, and although not an original thinker, he popularized the eight-hour day and the currency reform for which it stood. It was typical of this confused age, when labor was only gradually finding its way, that Sylvis also advocated at various times a labor party, land reform, control of immigration and of sub-standard laborers. He was one of the first to stress the international ties of organized labor. He died in 1869 and it is hardly complimentary to his efforts to remark that the unguided national organization followed him to the grave within three years.

Professor Grossman has no cause to plead; nor does he attempt, on the basis of easily isolated statements, to classify Sylvis as a class-conscious radical or a conservative trade unionist. He is, nonetheless, enthusiastic about his subject, although restrained in the use of the exclamation point. The death of this labor leader at forty-one elicits the judgment that, "no single figure in the American labor movement achieved so much in so brief a time" (p. 209).

It may be noted with interest by Catholic readers that in January, 1861, the union delegates in Cincinnati enjoyed an "elegant repast" at the Catholic Institute (p. 42). It does not seem to have set a precedent. One of the irritants in church-labor relations in the early days of American unionism was the trappings of secret societies which many locals assumed. Sylvis is credited with having kept the national policy of the moulders opposed to such a procedure (p. 32). All who are concerned with showing the need of ethical concepts in the every-day affairs of society will notice that, "His was a program of high social ideals influenced by a Methodist conscience which told him that every human being had a right to a decent existence" (p. 241).

This work answers a need in exposing what up to now were some of the hidden roots of organized labor in the United States. As such it will appeal to those active in the labor field. It might be especially useful in correcting a defect in certain labor leaders, of which Sylvis was sometimes guilty, viz., a lack of knowledge of the road already traveled by labor. As a matter of fact, they might find subject for meditation in such an item as Grossman's description of Sylvis as "an idealist with both feet planted firmly on the ground" (p. 119).

HENRY J. BROWNE

The Catholic University of America

The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years. Volume II, *1865-1880.* By PHILIP KINSLEY. (Chicago: Chicago Tribune. 1945. Pp. xv, 349. $3.00.)

Volume I of *The Chicago Tribune: Its First Hundred Years* was concerned with the period from 1847 to 1865; the volume under review continues the story to 1880. Subsequent volumes will bring the record down to the present decade. Mr. Kinsley of the *Tribune* staff has taken the material for his book almost exclusively from the files of the paper itself. Not a great deal of direct quotation is given; most of the material is in the form of summarization. Reproductions are made of many front pages of noteworthy editions; photographs are reproduced of men, buildings, and streets associated with the Chicago of the post-Civil War period. The influence of such an editor as Horace White is made evident from 1866 to 1874, then that of Joseph Medill, who became editor in 1874 and so remained until his death in 1899.

It was the contention of the *Tribune* in 1865, as it is today, that it speaks for the soundest elements in midwestern citizenship. It had been associated with the Republican party and with Lincoln; it was at times to cut itself loose from its conservative Republican moorings and to do something as erratic as supporting the Liberal Republican candidate Horace Greeley in 1872. Two years later, under the editorship of Joseph Medill, it was to become staunchly Republican and to so remain through good years and bad. Even today it is difficult to evaluate the influence of the *Tribune* upon the Middle West. Only two undebatable statements can be made: the influence is greater than that exerted by any other newspaper, and much greater than that suspected in the East.

Looking backward to 1865-1880, we may try to ascertain the policies of the *Tribune*, which on December 7, 1868, proclaimed itself the best newspaper published in the United States. Today, as is generally known, it refers to itself as the world's greatest newspaper. In the hectic period after the Civil War, the paper supported Thaddeus Stevens and his policies for penalizing the post-war South; the *Tribune* opposed pardons for Jefferson Davis or for Robert E. Lee; after giving its support for a short time to Andrew Johnson it turned against him and his policies. It spoke out in favor of free trade in 1866 and came forth as an opponent of big business monopolies.

Interestingly enough the *Tribune* was opposed to prohibition as early as 1867. Many years later, in the 1920's, it was the only paper of large circulation in the United States that was openly opposed to the evils of the Eighteenth Amendment. But such consistency was not always characteristic of the paper. Although it championed Grant in the election of 1868, it later grew cool toward him and his rich associates. In 1872 the editors urged the election of Horace Greeley rather than Grant. This

was done in spite of the fact that the paper had condemned Greeley in 1865 because of the New York editor's advocacy of leniency for Jefferson Davis. Subsequently the *Tribune* was not opposed to a third term for Grant, in 1880, but supported Garfield when the latter was nominated.

Mr. Kinsley has preferred to deal briefly with issues as they appeared in the files of the paper, rather than analyze exhaustively any of them. Some readers may feel that the pages convey a staccato effect. Short paragraphs of two lines abound, each paragraph dealing with a topic altogether unrelated to the one which precedes or follows. The book is a running digest of the daily news found in the paper, rather than an analysis of the effect that it may have had upon the community. Possibly such an appraisal could not have been made; certainly the results would have been debatable. Perhaps that is why Mr. Kinsley satisfied himself with simply presenting in summary fashion the news as the *Tribune* readers followed it from 1865 to 1880.

PAUL KINIERY

Loyola University
Chicago

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

Latin American Civilization. Colonial Period. By BAILEY W. DIFFIE. (Harrisburg: Stackpole Sons. 1945. Pp. 812.)

Dr. Diffie already wins the reader in his preface which is graceful with the modesty of the true scholar and whose expressions of gratitude to collaborators, proximate and remote, is much more, one feels, than a mere formality. His acknowledgment of stimulation and aid from students is particularly warm and sincere. He shows in his introductory chapter that during the years of preparation for this volume which necessitated travel to Europe and Latin America he has been doing his own thinking. There is the iteration of no "black legend" here of greedy Spaniards who did nothing else except seek for gold and exploit the Indians. "Without the discovery of gold and silver in quantities . . . , the rate of conquest and settlement would have been much slower." And there is some piquant humor in the following: "In some strange way, the production of gold and silver by the Spaniards has been made a peculiar heinous crime, while the buccaneers who robbed them have been elevated to the ranks of heroes" (p. 6).

The author has delved deeply into the pre-Columbian Indian culture and psychology. A thought-provoking feature is the manner in which he expounds in the chapters of Book One the result of the impact of the European upon the American culture. The exposition here of the reaction of Indian psychology to the incoming European faith and culture is a

distinct contribution. In this regard, the easy conversion of the Indian to Christianity properly takes an important place. Dr. Diffie cites Mendieta as to the Indian's being "meek, peaceful, gentle, simple, poverty-stricken, and content with this condition, and very humble." Then he quotes Mendieta directly: "The shepherd carries off a son, the cartman a daughter, a Negro the wife, a mulatto insults him, and on top of this comes another *repartimiento* which sends him to the mines, where his life ends . . . " (p. 252). The above is to demonstrate the extreme docility of the Indian, which, in the author's opinion, helps to explain his easy acceptance of Christianity. In these chapters, furthermore, there is very proper explosion of the modern myth current among a certain school of historians and anthropologists of the very high and superior culture of the pre-Columbian Indians. But certain aspects of their religion were cognate to certain aspects of Christianity and, therefore, "The Indians poured into the centers where Catholic missionaries had established themselves and begged for baptism." Anyone who has examined the records of the early missionary efforts knows that this is true.

A large amount of space naturally is given to the Church, its influence, its wealth, its ubiquity. Dr. Diffie points out the constructive activities and the virtues of churchmen as well as faults and abuses. Quite an amount of space is given to clerical misconduct, secular and regular, which, as is well known, was wide-spread during the later decades of the colonial regime and even before. These pages, fortified by an accumulation of unquestionable authorities which are quoted at length, carry enlightenment and conviction. The reasons for enlarging on this topic are given at the end of chapter twenty-six: "If emphasis has been placed here on the shortcomings of the Church, it is largely in order to present an antidote to many works which have feared to deal with so delicate a matter." And the author here concludes: "There is no subject harder to treat fairly. It is necessary to approach the question of the Church either from inside that institution or outside it, and in either case there are opposing viewpoints so far apart that reconciliation is impossble" (p. 599). This reviewer does not wholly agree. Divergency was undoubtedly true in the past, but as objectivity increases the divergency of interpretation decreases. If non-ecclesiastical historians continue to diminish a certain emotional bias and generalizations concerning deficiencies in the Church which in the past animated numbers of such scholars, and if ecclesiastical historians would set aside an excessive sensitiveness mixed with lack of candor and ignorance of the extent of past abuses, agreement could be reached.

In dealing with the Inquisition the author cites the case of José Celestino Mutis. This gentleman lecturing upon Newton and the Copernican theory as late as 1773 was accused of heresy by the Universidad Thomística of

Begotà because he accepted the theories of these two scientists. The scriptures, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas were brought up against him. The Inquisition took up his case but only verbally reproved him. Some statements concerning the severity of this institution seem somewhat exaggerated. In Book Two there is a good exposition of missionary activities, especially those of the Franciscans and Jesuits.

Six chapters of Book Three give the story of the cultural and institutional development of Brazil. Dr. Diffie has assimilated the works of Gilberto Freyre, understands the almost complete blend of races in that vast and almost empty country, and he offers a scholarly study of Brazil's colonial past. The last chapter entitled, "Colonial Brazilian Government," is particularly informative. Large space is devoted in this third section to Jesuit activities which were so important for the colony after 1549. The author would be less impressed with Jesuit wealth and business efficiency did he have opportunity to look through some of the letters of the Jesuit generals to the provincial superiors of New Spain and Paraguay. Here he would read of the near bankruptcy of the Jesuits of Córdoba because of ill management of the income-bearing estates, of how the Paraguay missions had to help defray the expenses of Jesuits travelling to Rome on official business, of how General Vincent Caraffa (1646-1649) felt himself obliged to forbid both provinces to receive new subjects until the financial situation would be made suitable for their support. All the houses were in debt, he complained to the provincial of New Spain.

When the Spanish Province of the Seven Missions was handed by treaty over to Brazil, the seven reductions situated here were ordered to migrate across the Uruguay River. There were revolts among the Indians, "and it was evident," says our author, "that they were inspired by the Jesuits." But the evidence shows the opposite, that here as in Tarahumara in New Spain at the time of the expulsion, the Jesuits tried to appease the anger of their neophytes—unsuccessfully in Paraguay, but with success in Tarahumara. A few other misrepresentations have been noted in other sections. For instance, the author suggests that the practice of promising prayers for those who help support a religious institution is immoral.

There is a good bibliography amplified by copious footnote references to other works and source materials. There is one omission here: the works of Guillermo Furlong, S.J., the outstanding authority of the colonial La Plata country, are neither listed nor referred to. The illustrations have been exceedingly well chosen. There are some maps and a good analytical index.

PETER MASTEN DUNNE

University of San Francisco

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association will be held in New York City on December 27-30 in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and its affiliated societies. The program, which includes the customary joint session with the American Historical Association, is now practically complete under the direction of the chairman of the committee, Professor Francis J. Tschan of Pennsylvania State College.

The many recent publications on the history of Catholic dioceses and educational institutions of the United States have raised a serious question among historians about the validity of the division of church history into diocesan or parochial segments. No one can question the fact that there is serious need of limiting the scope of an historical study which covers a region or a period for the first time. The divisions of parish or diocese, however, seldom mark the real limitations of any movement or development of ecclesiastical history. If a diocesan historian ignores the relationships that exist between his territory and that which surrounds it with the movements of the country generally his history cannot be said to give a picture that is historically accurate. A further fault encountered in some recent publications is the litany of church buildings, school buildings, and hospitals with exasperating statistics about size, seating capacity, or operational facilities which differ from each other only in name and location. There are, of course, local persons and institutions which must be named, but mere statistical data can be relegated to the appendix and the historian given freer scope to relate the spiritual and living story of Catholic development. More attention, likewise, should be paid to the more mundane qualities of the parishioners, who spend only a short time each week in the parish church.

During the nineteenth century the pastorals of the American bishops were issued only on special occasions and to meet special problems. To evaluate the official progress of the Church in this country without a careful scrutiny of these pastorals is very difficult, even though several important topics are not treated in them by name. Of the pastorals collected and edited by Monsignor Guilday in *The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, 1792-1919* (Washington, 1923), one of the finest and yet one of the most neglected is that of the Second Plenary Council of 1866. The authorship of the pastoral is not designated, although there are indications of the influence of the Archbishop of Baltimore, Martin John Spalding. The clear theological terminology, however, suggests that perhaps Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick may have taken an active part

in its composition. One of the best parts of the pastoral is the section designated, "Relations of the Church to the State," which needs to be studied carefully by those who attempt to explain the relations between the Church and the State in the United States.

With the concentration of such a large part of the Catholic population within the limits of our metropolitan areas, a problem facing the later Catholic historian will be to explain why the Catholic groups in this country failed to enter into the countryside where life is longer and less hazardous. Students of Irish immigration, such as the late William Forbes Adams, point out that the Irish who had suffered so much from agricultural distress in their native land dreaded the possibilities of continued farm life. Other historians indicate a desire for community life which kept the Irish farmer from going away alone on a farm. Neither of these explanations, however, is altogether satisfactory, because many Irish did go into the countryside and make good. Many Germans also went into the agricultural sections of the country. The deciding factor in the case of most Catholic urban settlers, of course, was poverty which deprived the immigrant of the means of taking over the western farmlands. Likewise, some leaders of the Catholic immigrants, especially Archbishop John Hughes of New York, opposed western colonization projects because they would take these Catholics out of the cities. The historical factors in the present distribution of the Catholic population need an investigation which, besides pointing out why Catholics settled where they did, will also indicate the results of their economic ventures.

The *Catholic Directory* for 1946, which appeared the first week in June, gave a total of 24,402,124 Catholics in the United States. This is an increase of 438,453 over the figure reported for 1945. During the year 87,430 converts were received into the Church, an increase of 2,522 over the total for 1945. The number of ordained priests within the country is now 38,980, an increase of 529 over 1945. The erection of the Archdiocese of Omaha during the year brought the total number of metropolitan sees to twenty-two. The *Directory* went to press too soon to include the new Diocese of Madison. Four ecclesiastical jurisdictions within the United States reported over a million Catholics, viz., in order of their size: Chicago, Boston, New York, and Brooklyn. Increases in the Catholic population are reported from seventy-three dioceses, while in the case of twenty-four dioceses no change was reported, and in twenty-four dioceses there were slight decreases in the remaining Catholic population.

With the purpose of collating source material which may serve as the basis of a history of the Catholic Church in southern California, particularly in the American period from 1850 to date, Charles C. Conroy, pro-

fessor of history in Loyola University, Los Angeles, has undertaken an extensive survey of archives and collections of correspondence, newspapers, and diaries in that field throughout the area in question. Anyone knowing of pertinent material on the Church in southern California is urged to inform Dr. Conroy concerning it.

Henry L. Walsh, S.J., professor of history in the University of Santa Clara and author of the recently-published, *Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails* (Santa Clara, 1946), is now gathering material for a history of the University of Santa Clara, which he hopes to have finished by 1951 in time to mark the centennial of the coming of the Jesuit Fathers to the Santa Clara Valley.

Beginning in September, 1946, after a lapse of twenty years, the University of Notre Dame will again offer a course of studies leading to the doctorate in history. For the present, research will be concentrated in American social and religious history, although a program in limited phases of mediaeval history is also planned. Research in the University's extensive manuscript materials dealing with American history has continued during the twenty years, but the offering of the doctorate was interrupted by administrational difficulties.

The biographers of Kit Carson have maintained that one of Carson's sons attended the University of Notre Dame, but until recently no direct evidence of the presence of the youth at Notre Dame could be found. Now, however, the University has recovered a "certificate of scholarship" to the University for twenty-five years which was granted to General William T. Sherman by Father Edward Sorin, C.S.C., the president and founder of the University. On the back of the certificate Sherman noted that it was acknowledged and accepted on October 20, 1867, and given for ten years to William Carson. It is doubtful, however, that Carson was there that long, or that he attained the levels of collegiate instruction.

A recent addition to the Annals of the Polish Roman Catholic Union is a study by Sister Mary Remigia Napolska entitled, *The Polish Immigrant in Detroit to 1914* (Chicago, 1946). It was done originally as a thesis for the master's degree at the University of Notre Dame under the direction of Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C. A series of such studies as these would enable the historian to write with more certitude and fulness on one of the most difficult themes in American Catholic history, namely, the Church and the immigrant.

The *Annual Report* of the Librarian of Congress for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1945, has been issued by the United States Government Printing Office. It is the first report of Luther H. Evans, happy choice

as the head of our great library. He writes the introduction and gives his concept of "The Job of the Librarian of Congress." In the fiscal year 1945 the Library catalogued among other items 9,893 volumes on history (except American), 5,877 on American history, 26,484 on the social sciences, 11,780 on political science, and 4,573 on religion. The Library holds in its classified collections 261,593 volumes on history (except American), 280,677 on American history, 778,484 on social sciences, 318,280 on political science, 202,573 on religion. The total number of volumes amounts to 4,385,060; the number of pieces is almost 25,000,000.

The Vital Statistics Division of the United States Census Bureau has announced that a simultaneous census of the twenty-two countries in the Western Hemisphere is planned for 1950.

Monsignor Peter Guilday has presented the Library of Congress with sixty-eight photostats and two hundred and eighty-one pages of transcripts referring to the Franciscan missionary of New Mexico, Fray Alonzo de Benavides.

The Maryland Historical Society received at its meeting on February 26 a collection of items on the architect, Benjamin H. Latrobe, as a gift from his great grandson, Latrobe Cogswell of Baltimore. Latrobe's journal for the year 1796 highlights the most recent addition of materials on this important figure of Maryland. Among his many other outstanding enterprises, he became, at the request of Archbishop Carroll, the architect of the venerable Cathedral of the Assumption in Baltimore.

The *Round Table of Franciscan Research,* published by St. Anthony Friary, Marathon, Wisconsin, has dropped its mimeographed form in favor of print.

Leo Francis Stock has been awarded a grant of one thousand dollars by the Social Science Research Council for completion of the sixth volume of his series of *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America.*

Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., read a paper at the thirty-ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Bloomington, Indiana, on April 18, on the subject, "Abbé Jean Rivet at Vincennes, 1795-1804."

Allan J. Doherty of Dorchester, Massachusetts, has completed translations of Comte Edgard de Barral's "Les Zouaves Pontificaux, 1860-1870" and Baron Athanase de Charette's "Souvenir du régiment des Zouaves Pontificaux", typescript copies of which have been deposited in the Army War College Library, Washington, D. C. Mr. Doherty was a member of the military staff of the Library during World War II.

Carlton J. H. Hayes, President of the Catholic Historical Association in 1931, was the recipient of this year's Laetare Medal awarded by the University of Notre Dame.

Two presidents of the American Catholic Historical Association were chosen for distinction at the close of the academic year. Thomas F. O'Connor, President for 1946 of the Association, received the honorary degree of doctor of letters on May 26 at St. Bonaventure College, where he delivered the commencement address. Martin R. P. McGuire, President of the Association in 1941, received the honorary degree of doctor of humane letters at the commencement exercises of the College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, on June 26.

Gerhart Ladner of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, has been appointed to teach mediaeval history at the University of Notre Dame beginning with the coming semester. Dr. Ladner took his doctorate at the University of Vienna and has specialized in the history of mediaeval art.

Francis B. Steck, O.F.M., has resigned from the department of history at the Catholic University of America because of ill-health. Freed from the responsibility of teaching and directing research, Father Steck hopes to be able to continue his own personal research. He will be replaced in the University by Carlos E. Castañeda, who has been named to a professorship in Ibero-American history.

Richard J. Purcell will return to his chair at the University in September. Professor Purcell has devoted two years to service with the War Production Board.

Edward P. Lilly will return to the University on a part-time basis during the first semester. In the meantime he is endeavoring to complete the history of psychological warfare as employed by the United States in World War II, a project on which he is engaged for the Joint Chiefs of Staff. During the War Dr. Lilly served in the Office of War Information.

The *Report of the Department of Public Archives for the Year 1945,* edited by Gustave Lanctot, Keeper of Public Records for Canada, contains his report proper, a list of the accessions to the manuscript division at Ottawa, an appendix of the Calendar of State Papers composed of the official correspondence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada for the years, 1838-1841, as well as the following documents: Notes and reminiscences of an inhabitant of Montreal during the occupation of that city by the Bostonians from 1775 to 1776; Conditions of settlement at Tata magouche, Nova Scotia, 1795; Collective responsibility of cabinet minis-

ters, 1876; and finally Sir John A. Macdonald's election as member for Victoria, British Columbia, 1878.

St. John's Seminary, Brighton, has recently acquired for its library a full set of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* which was the personal property of Pierre Georges Roy, a full set of *Archives de Québec: Publications*, and a considerable run of the *Canada ecclésiastique*. These publications will be useful to those who are working in either Canadian Catholic history or Canadian-American church relations.

Dr. Alfred Métraux, assistant director of research for the United Nations Organization, gave a series of six lectures on Haiti and the French West Indies during the months of March, April, and May, 1946, at the Catholic University of America under the auspices of the French Cultural Mission and the Institute of Ibero-American Studies. The speaker is a noted anthropologist.

Lázaro Lamadrid, O.F.M., of Guatemala, is now actively connected with the Academy of American Franciscan History at its headquarters in Washington, D. C. Father Lamadrid will serve the Academy as a specialist in Central-American affairs. Another member of the Academy, Father Roderick Molina, O.F.M., is spending the summer in Spain.

Enrique Ortega Ricaurte, director of the National Archive of Bogotá, Colombia, visited the United States recently under the auspices of the Department of State. Dr. Ortega, a well-known Catholic layman of the Colombian capital, is the author of some thirty volumes of historical studies and documents.

According to a recent report, historians of Brazil will be called upon to celebrate the third centenary of the recuperation of Angola from the Dutch by Brazilian forces under the command of Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides, governor of Rio de Janeiro. The celebration is planned for 1947.

A group of thirty-five Catholic scholars representing approximately fifteen institutions met at the Catholic University of America on June 23 for the formal organization of the Catholic Commission on Intellectual and Cultural Affairs. The need for such a clearing house for information and co-ordination of Catholic intellectual life both here and abroad has been felt for some time. The Commission will endeavor to draw closer together the Catholic scholarly and cultural activities of the United States as well as to foster co-operation with similar groups abroad. One of the important aspects of its work will be to act as a channel through which contacts with UNESCO and other international groups can be maintained. At the meeting on June 23 the following officers were elected for the year

1946-47: David A. McCabe, Princeton University, chairman; James B. Macelwane, S.J., St. Louis University, vice-chairman; Frederick D. Rossini, Bureau of Standards, secretary, and Michael F. Calnan, president of the Liberty National Bank of Washington, D. C., treasurer.

A Mediaeval Institute, which will be an independent academic unit within the University, is being established at the University of Notre Dame, with the Reverend Gerald B. Phelan as its director. Father Phelan, a priest of the Archdiocese of Halifax and an alumnus of the University of Louvain, has been president of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto.

The Catholic Association for International Peace held its eighteenth annual conference in Hartford, Connecticut, on April 22-23. Among the papers of interest to historians were those by Elizabeth M. Lynskey of Hunter College on "Great Power Policies and the Peace Treaties," and by James M. Eagan of the College of New Rochelle on "Great Power Policies, Dependent Peoples, and the UN." The presidential address of George N. Shuster dealt with "The Church and Democracy in the World Crisis."

Volume XX of the Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association presents a series of interesting papers on *The Philosophy of Democracy* (Secretary of the American Catholic Philosophy Association, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C. Price, two dollars).

The American Catholic Historical Association was represented at the fiftieth annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science on April 5-6 by Hugh J. Nolan, editor of the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia. He reported that the outstanding address in the opinion of many, was that of Galo Plaza, ambassador of Ecuador to the United States. He spoke on the subject, "Should or should not the Charter be Amended?" Señor Plaza felt that the charter of the United Nations did need amending to provide especially for freedom of the press and freedom of communications, but he advised that amendments should be made only after enough time had elapsed to give the delegates an opportunity to test the working of the charter by experience. Eddy Asirvatham, presently a visiting professor at Boston University, gave a stirring talk on "The UNO and India". Nicholas J. Doman, who was one of the assistant prosecutors at the Nuremberg trials, stressed the necessity of establishing an international morality. He noted that international law binds the individual as a subject of the state which itself is only a juridic person incapable of being punished for immoral actions. Dr. Doman's subject was "International Political Implications of the Nuremberg Trials."

With the United Nations Charter still far from perfection and giving food for serious thought and concern to all students of international affairs, it is pleasant to greet the publication of *Our Way to Peace in the Atomic Age*, which is an analysis of all the main features of the charter, its strength and its weaknesses. This brochure has been prepared by Robert A. Graham, S. J., of the Institute of Social Order in collaboration with William L. Lucey, S. J., of the College of the Holy Cross and James L. Burke, S. J., of Boston College. Each section of the booklet is followed by "Topics for Discussion." A chart of the structure of the United Nations and the text of the charter give additional aids to students who are seeking direction on the problems posed by the United Nations. The brochure is published by the America Press.

World Report (United States News Publishing Corporation, 1253-24th Street, N. W., Washington 7, D. C. $4.00 per annum), which began weekly publication in May, affords an excellent means of keeping informed on foreign political and economic conditions.

The *Armenian Quarterly* is a new publication devoted to Armenian culture from ancient times to the present. It is published by the American-Armenian Cultural Association (9 East 89th Street, New York City), with Constant Zarian as editor. Its format is excellent. The subscription rate is $6.00 per annum. Membership in the Association begins at $10.00 per annum. The attractive articles of this first issue are listed in our Periodical Literature. The issue contains the constitution of the Association.

A new quarterly *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* made its appearance in January. It is published by Henry Schuman (20 East 70th Street, New York, 21) and edited by George Rosen. There is a long list of consulting editors—distinguished names of scholars from various countries. The format, paper, and printing are elegant. The articles of the first number run from Vesalius to adventures of the scapegrace, Dr. Benjamin Harrison, in Texas. An article of the April number by Charles F. Mullett on "Medical History: Some Problems and Opportunities" should stimulate historical research in the field. The subscription price is $7.50 per annum.

Anyone acquainted with the history of the English Catholics in the eighteenth century knows and reveres the name of Bishop Richard Challoner, Vicar Apostolic of the London District. Since his death in 1781, his body has lain in the Protestant church at Milton, Berkshire. The old parish register for January 2, 1781 reads, "Buried the Rev. Richard Challoner, a Popish priest and Titular Bishop of London, a very pious and good man of great learning and extensive abilities." In

Low Week the body of the saintly bishop was reinterred with simple ceremonies in Westminster Cathedral.

Fascicules IX and X (1940-1945) bring the *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité* from Chappuis to Cloyseault. There are especially important articles on charity (184 columns), Charles Borromeo, the Carthusians, and chastity. With only a few fascicules published, this cyclopaedia has well-established claims to usefulness.

An index of the *Nouvelle revue théologique* for the years 1914-1939 appeared in 1940.

Volume 100 of Studi e Testi (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1942) is a general index of that series since its beginnings in 1900.

Alessandro Valignani, S.J., who died at Macao in 1606, was second only to St. Francis Xavier in establishing the Jesuit Missions in the East. The complete text of his history of these missions from 1542 to 1564 has been published by the Institutum Historicum, Rome.

Sir John Clapham, authority on English economic history, died on March 29 at the age of seventy-three. With the late Eileen Power, he began the editing of the *Cambridge Economic History.*

By an epoch-making decree of April 11 the Church in China has been given its own hierarchy. Twenty archdioceses and seventy-nine suffragan sees have been erected. Thirty-eight prefectures apostolic still remain in mission status.

The April number of the *New Mexico Historical Review* is devoted to the late Lansing Bartlett Bloom.

Joseph Jackson died in Philadelphia on March 4. He was a frequent contributor to the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, one of his last articles being that on "Building Philadelphia's Cathedral," which appeared in the September, 1945, issue. He was long associated with various posts on the Philadelphia *Public Ledger.* Mr. Jackson was an authority on Philadelphia history. He wrote the article for his city in the new edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and contributed about eighty sketches of Philadelphia worthies to the *Dictionary of American Biography.*

James F. Kenney, President of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1932, died suddenly in Ottawa on June 4 at the age of sixty-one. Dr. Kenney did graduate work at the University of Toronto, the

University of Wisconsin, and Columbia University. For the past thirty-four years he has been associated with the Dominion of Canada Archives and in 1926 was appointed director of historical research and publicity, a post he held at the time of his death. He wrote on Canadian and early Irish history. In 1925 he published his *Catalogue of Pictures in the Public Archives of Canada* and in 1932 *The Founding of Churchill.* His greatest work was his monumental volume on *The Ecclesiastical Sources for the Early History of Ireland,* which appeared in 1929. He continued research on a further volume concerning the secular sources. It is greatly to be hoped that the fruit of his labors in this field will not be allowed to perish. Dr. Kenney was the founder in 1933 of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association and became its permanent secretary. He was a fellow of the Royal Historical Society and the Royal Society of Canada.

The parishes of the national capital area are more than coming of age. Following the recent sesquicentennial of St. Patrick's Church and that of St. Mary's in near-by Alexandria we now have an illustrated sketch of a third parish, that of Holy Trinity in Georgetown, which celebrated its sesquicentennial on November 4 to 11, 1945. *The History of Holy Trinity Parish, Washington, D. C., 1795-1945,* has been written by Lawrence J. Kelly, S. J. Francis Neale, who founded St. Mary's Church in Alexandria, served Holy Trinity as its first pastor in 1817. Holy Trinity has a special interest as a parish because of its intimate connection with its famous neighbor, Georgetown University.

The City of Cleveland is celebrating the 150th anniversary of its founding by Moses Cleaveland in 1796.

The City of Milwaukee is making elaborate preparations to celebrate the centennial of its incorporation this summer.

Documents: Una Predica sul SS. nome di Gesù tenuta a Padova nel 1423 da S. Bernardino da Siena e raccolta da un suo anonimo ascoltatore. Dionisio Pacetti *(Miscellanea Francescana,* Vol. XLIII, Fasc. IV).—Four letters of Pedro de la Gasca, 1546-1548, from the Archivo General del Gobierno, Guatemala City. Robert S. Chamberlain *(Hispanic American Histor. Rev.,* Nov., 1945).—Report on the Missions by the Franciscan Commissary General of the Indies (1612). Ed. by Lázaro Lamadrid *(The Americas,* Apr.).—Philadelphia and the Revolution. French Diplomacy in the United States, 1778-1779 [Letters, Gérard to Vergennes]. Translated by Jules A. Baisnée and John J. Meng *(Records of the American Catholic Historical Society,* Dec. 1945 and Mar. 1946).—Letter of the Reverend Joseph Salzmann to Reverend Dr. Paul Kagerer, tr. by A. C. Breig *(Salesianum,* Apr.).

BRIEF NOTICES

ATTWATER, DONALD. *Eastern Catholic Worship.* (New York: Devin-Adair. 1945. Pp. xviii, 224. $2.50.)

Interest in Eastern Catholics has been considerably on the increase of late. It has been heightened recently when the Holy See directed the attention of the world to the pitiful fate of millions of Catholics under Soviet domination. Attwater's volume will be very helpful to understand the plight of our Catholic brethren whose form of worship originated in Byzantium. Of course, the value of this book is far greater, for it is not restricted to any particular time nor rite.

The beauty of Eastern worship has always attracted sincere admiration among Catholics of the West. But the bewildering variety and complexity of the various liturgies has discouraged many from a more than superficial study of these rites. Donald Attwater—whose books on the Eastern Churches are standard works—has given us here a much-needed English translation of all the Eastern liturgies. This simplifies matters greatly. Now anyone can study intelligently and fruitfully the Mass whether it is celebrated by a priest from Egypt or Syria or Byzantium or Malabar.

We have had translations of some of the liturgies before, but they were often difficult to obtain, and some were not Catholic editions. Here now is a very practical and welcome book for the scholar as well as for the layman. To priests and teachers it will also be a source of illustrating material. For instance, in the abundant prayers for the dead found in the ancient liturgies of the East we have the best means to illustrate the doctrine of purgatory. As a manual of study it will help us understand the life of Catholics in the East and encourage further interest. And, used as a prayerbook, it may open some new aspects of Catholic worship and deepen one's own spiritual life.

A general introduction and brief explanations preceding the eight translated liturgies are remarkable for conciseness and easy understanding. A complex problem has been simplified, and that with great success in all respects. (ANDREW ROGOSH)

BURPEE, LAWRENCE J. *The Discovery of Canada.* (New York: MacMillan Co. 1944. Pp. vi, 280. $3.00.)

Mr. Burpee, at the age of seventy-three, is still brilliantly carrying on his fruitful career. Canadian-born, he has specialised in pioneer history and in the historical geography of his country; but he has also made many contributions to its general history. He has thus to his credit a dozen important works that place him among the outstanding Canadian historians of our time. As such, he has occupied prominent offices in our most important learned societies. This time he is offering us a new work in the form of an over-all review of the gradual discovery of Canada, step by step and man by man, through the centuries. The result is an assemblage somewhat comparable to a jig-saw puzzle, the areas of successive discoveries taken as pieces to be fitted in restoring the whole. The author has succeeded in framing it within twenty-two chapters that start with Leif Ericson's landing on the eastern

American coast and come up to the most recent explorations in the Arctic archipelago. Of course, the number of discoverers alluded to is much larger than that; for many an expedition, especially in the North, was either a fruitless attempt or a mere start that had to be later completed. Would not the author, if writing this year, have entered a statement on the ultra-modern Musk-Ox expedition?

The book is written for popular reading, that is, without the apparatus of critical scholarship. It advances in a lively style, just like the chapters of a thrilling novel. The novelists are the discoverers themselves, called to bear witness in their own cases by means of personal or contemporary narratives. It is unfortunate that the author treated the Pacific and the Arctic slopes in the same part indiscriminately, and failed to mention among the norther explorers, the late Captain J.-E. Bernier, a French Canadian who, not long ago, made repeated voyages of exploration in behalf of the federal government on a wooden steamer called the *Arctic*. (HONORIUS PROVOST)

BURTON, KATHERINE. *According to the Pattern*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. 252. $2.50.)

This is the story of an answer to a great need. Specifically, it is a popular account of the origin of an important new movement within the missionary apostolate of the Catholic Church. As told by Katherine Burton, it is actually the life story of two women pioneers.

Agnes McLaren of Edinburgh had defied Victorian conventions by becoming a physician. Converted to Catholicism, she spent herself for her faith and her profession and before she died she prepared the way for a new vocation for women. Supporting a Catholic woman doctor among the secluded Moslem women of northern India, Dr. McLaren had learned that mission conditions required women physicians who were religious. Five trips to Rome failed to secure permission for such an arrangement, hitherto forbidden by the law of the Church. But her plan did not die with her.

Anna Dengel, a young Austrian doctor, took it up, went to India, and in 1925 organized the Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries in Washington, with the approval of Archbishop Michael J. Curley. At last a great need in mission work among Moslems could be met. In 1936 the Holy See granted permission for women religious in mission lands to engage in medical work. Five years later the new society was officially approved by Rome. A specifically new type of mission vocation had emerged to fill a pressing want.

Mrs. Burton has constructed a readable and inspiring story, weaving the events of two noble lives into her pattern. Though she does not press the point, her story reveals the unmistakable action of divine Providence using apparently fortuitous incidents to fashion a needed tool for mission work. Simplicity and lack of pretentiousness are not the least merits of Mrs. Burton's account.

For accuracy it might be noted that canon law was not *changed* by the decree of 1936. The law had forbidden the practise of medicine and surgery by clerics (and, by extension, by religious) without special permission of the Holy See. This permission was given in 1936. (FERGUS MACDONALD)

DENGEL, ANNA. *Mission for Samaritans.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1945. Pp. x, 126. $1.75.)

This little volume is a realistic picture of the work of medical missionaries and the needs which must be met in the future. Dr. Dengel has been active in medical mission work since 1911. In 1925, with the help of Michael A. Mathis C.S.C., she founded in the United States the Society of Catholic Medical Missionaries. Great encouragement and new impetus was given the work with the issuance of the decree from the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide in 1936 urging religious women to dedicate themselves to medical missions and for this work, to become trained nurses and doctors. The society could now be instituted as a formal religious community, a step vital for the spiritual and material welfare of personnel engaged in the arduous work.

Dr. Dengel traces the nature of the Church's obligation to help the sick and the poor. Often it is a case of justice since so many of the ills decimating pagan lands today came with the white man. The Church has been conscious of this obligation since the time of Christ, the Divine Healer, through the hospital orders of the Middle Ages to the scientific contributions of men like Pasteur. Much has already been done by both Protestants and Catholics. The former have long been active in the field, working through skilled staffs and well-equipped hospitals.

A world-wide tour of the missions in 1936 gave Dr. Dengel a first hand knowledge of the needs of medical missions. The picture she paints so simply is appalling. Starvation diets, perennial plagues, chronic diseases, high infant mortality, and ever-present filth have left us with a sick and dying world. The answer lies in more men and women trained for the missions in the latest of modern science and fired with Christ-like charity.

Such a vast field compressed in a small volume must of necessity be a bare outline. But the facts of progress made and needs for the future stand out more graphically as a result. Everyone who is interested in the extension of Christ's kingdom and the alleviation of the ills of mankind will find a world-wide view in this survey. It has an adequate index and a good bibliography. (RICHARD MCMONIGAL)

JASNEY, NAUM. *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1944. Pp. 176. 2 Plates. $1.75.)

The author of this interesting book calls attention in his introduction to the far too common practice that "an historian gets his information preferably from his predecessors rather than from contemporary scholars in other fields. . . . To bring the views of modern botanists to the attention of historians is one of the purposes of this study." Assuredly, the author is right in assuming that an "interpretation of the statements of classical writers—in the light of the opinions of the botanists of our time," will be welcomed by botanists and other scholars in the United States. The author's establishment of the identity of siligo, triticum, spelta, olyra, etc., is based upon a very wide and comprehensive range of evidence, e.g., the climate where each variety or subspecies thrives, the physical properties of the grain, such as weight per bushel, color, habit of growth, milling, and harvesting qualities, seasonal adaptation, and particularly the baking properties of the grain. These

properties are then connected with varieties of species of wheat as understood today in the light of the studies of Vavilov, Fliaksberger, and others. On page 19 the botanical classification of wheats used in this work is outlined. But on the following two pages it becomes apparent that the author intends the second name as a subspecific and not as a specific name in contravention to the International Rules of Botanical Nomenclature, e.g., "triticum polonicum" omits the specific name; "polonicum" is intended as a subspecific name. Two excellent plates showing six wheats materially add to the usefulness of the book. The references in the footnotes constitute an extensive and valuable bibliography. (HUGH O'NEILL)

PATRICK, REMBERT W., Professor of Social Sciences, University of Florida. *Florida Under Five Flags.* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1945. Pp. xiv, 140. $2.50.)

This volume presents an unprejudiced résumé of the history of Florida from its discovery to the present day. As a special publication to coincide with the centenary of Florida's statehood, it is worthwhile as it offers the public at large a picture extending from 1513 to 1945, presented without details, a picture that states facts and points trends. As a result it is easy to read and, although it will not please the critical historian because of the absence of documentary references, it does present history for general consumption and thus will tend to give the reader an unbiased picture of early Florida settlements. The author states that it is his purpose to present, "a brief and interpretative account of the growth of Florida which could be read in a few hours. . . . Data not essential to the theme of a chapter had to be discarded; otherwise the purpose of the volume would have been unattained. Although, in the interest of brevity, neither a bibliography nor footnotes have been included, every effort has been made to achieve factual accuracy by the careful use of both primary and secondary historical sources."

The above statement tells us what to expect from the volume and the readers may be sure that their expectations will be fulfilled. The work is divided into ten chapters and there are 110 reproductions of photographs and paintings along with five maps. The author thus keeps his readers informed of the geographical changes that took place as civilization moved in. If we keep in mind the purpose of the volume, one may congratulate the author, for he has done an excellent work as a specialty for the Florida centennial.

Florida Under Five Flags covers 400 years in 134 pages. It is brief, it is accurate, and it is a memorial volume. More need not be said. (LAMAR J. GENOVAR)

SHIPTON, CLIFFORD K., *Biographical Sketches of those who attended Harvard College in the Classes 1722-1725 with Biographical and Other Notes.* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society. 1945. Pp. x, 706. $5.00.) These *Sketches* not only serve the purpose of recording the lives and achievements of Harvard students, but they also afford a far more intimate insight into colonial life than many a more specialized work.

Since many students went to Harvard to prepare for the ministry, historians interested in colonial church history, will find much valuable material in the accounts of those who became ministers. Most of them were involved on one side

or the other in the Great Awakening. There is a large amount of specific material about this movement in the volume. The lives of Thomas Clap, minister of the third parish of Windham, Connecticut, and later president of Yale, and of Mather Byles, poet and Tory minister of the Hollis Street Church, Boston, are sympathetic and well done.

There is also a good amount of information concerning colonial wars. The account of William Vaughan's part in the taking of Louisburg (1744) is excellent. Many facts may be gleaned concerning efforts to protect the frontiers against the French and Indians. In several instances the author has attempted to restore tarnished reputations. One case is that of Major General William Brattle of the provincial militia. The author's arguments are worthy of unbiased consideration, but they do not appear sufficiently conclusive to destroy the smirches that have stained Brattle's reputation. On the other hand, the account of Andrew Oliver, the Massachusetts stamp master, is convincing.

These *Sketches* also contain many facts concerning colonial economic affairs, education, and, in fact, almost every phase of colonial life.

This seventh volume in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates* upholds the excellent standards of the preceding volumes. It is carefully done, and, save for a very few instances, entirely objective. A great amount of research into every possible source has been undertaken to gather the materials upon which the *Sketches* are based. Undoubtedly the work is of real importance to anyone interested in New England colonial history. (EDWARD T. HARRINGTON)

A SISTER OF THE PRECIOUS BLOOD. *Not With Silver or Gold. A History of the Sisters of the Precious Blood, Salem Heights, Dayton, Ohio—1834-1944.* (Dayton: Sisters of the Precious Blood. 1945. Pp. xii, 464. $3.50.)

This interesting history of the Sisters of the Precious Blood is drawn for the most part from material in the archives at the motherhouses of the priests and of the Sisters of the Precious Blood and in those of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati and at Notre Dame, Indiana. The first portion of the book deals with the foundation of the community in Switzerland in 1834 by Mother Maria Anna Brunner and with its development, after her death in 1836, under the direction of her eldest son, Father Francis de Sales Brunner. The story of the foundress is given somewhat in detail; so, too, is that of her priest son, who in those early days became the provincial of the Congregation of the Precious Blood and who retained this position until his death in 1859. The author gives us the account of his early priestly life as a Benedictine and then as a Trappist, his work as a diocesan priest, his efforts to go to the foreign missions, his becoming a member of the Precious Blood Congregation, and finally his coming to America.

In the second part the author proceeds to the expansion of this community after the arrival of its first members in America on the last day of the year 1843. Since at this time the priests, brothers, and sisters were all subject to the authority of the Father Provincial, much of the story here described includes the work of the priests and brothers, as well as that of the sisters. In 1878, Rome issued a decree ordering the separation of the male and female communities of all religious congregations. Consequently, the sisters became an independent congregation. Thus the third section of the book is concerned with its organization and development in

particular. Here we learn of the spread of the community through Ohio and into other parts of the country, of the efforts to develop a group of sisters well trained to carry on the work of education, of the response to requests to undertake other types of work, and of the endeavors to have the congregation raised to the status of a pontifical institute. A brief account of the last eight years is given in a chronological summary of events in the appendix.

The author has made a serious attempt to give a story that is factual and at the same time well written and interesting. Nor does she describe only the glories of the congregation. Hers is not a mere eulogy of any particular members or of the community in general. The volume is a welcome addition in the field of American church history.

A few typographical errors might be pointed out. For 1715-*1734* read 1715-1724 (p. 16); for *degree* read decree (p. 233); for *wrote* read write (p. 249); for *lead* read led (p. 391); for *II* read I (p. 419, n. 40). Questions might be asked about several other minor matters. Is not the description of the Christmas eve of 1843 rather fanciful (p. 95 ff)? Were the Capuchins soft living and worldly or was this simply the opinion of Father Brunner (p. 34)? Was not the Bishop of Alsace justified in his attitude and not acting according to the "French temperament" (p. 80)? But these are only minor flaws in a work that is well done. In the appendix the author gives us a general survey of the sources used in writing the history. It might be added that all the notes are at the end of the book. There is a satisfactory index. (LEO F. RUSKOWSKI)

SPROUT, HAROLD AND MARGARET. *Foundations of National Power. Readings on World Politics and American Security.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1945. Pp. x, 774. $4.25.)

This latest work of the Sprouts, who have previously contributed distinguished treatises on naval power and policy, is the result of services performed for the Navy during the war. Product of a course on world affairs developed experimentally in various universities for the Navy's wartime College Training Program, it is now a regular feature of the N.R.O.T.C. curriculum.

In presenting their book to the public, the Sprouts' thesis is that the United States must adopt fresh national policies to prevent a future war of rocket-atomic weapons. These policies must be employed in the traditional "multi-state system," for there is no prospect of a world-state in our time. The authors endeavor to outline "a clear and realistic view of the current world situation" to help Americans frame a "strategy of peace that meets the requirements of national security" and world politics.

They offer no definite solution. But they believe that extensive knowledge of the policies and strategies of the various nations of the world is basic to an understanding of the problem of security. The result of their effort is a selection of readings which comes close to being a textbook of geopolitics. Covering one by one the major countries of the world, they present an array of excerpts from the writings of statesmen, political scientists, historians, economists and, above all, geographers, to delineate and interpret each nation's geographic and politico-strategic position in international affairs.

The general plan of the book is in five major parts. The first deals with the fundamental factors of international relations and gives a prominent place to the geopolitical concepts of Sir Halford MacKinder. The remaining four parts treat the European great powers, the Afro-Asian realm of imperialisms, America, and, finally, the terms of peace and international security. The final chapter, on security for the United States, cites the danger of isolationism in the atomic era and stresses the difficulties of international organization for security under a multistate system. Each part is prefaced by an introduction and commentary by the authors.

The reading selections, in general, are good but, as in many collections of readings, there is too much repetition of the same ideas. As a result, the book is unnecessarily long. Because of the mass of material presented, a two-column format has been adopted and the print is rather small. (CHARLES R. GELLNER)

THURSFIELD, RICHARD EMMONS. *Henry Barnard's American Journal of Education.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1945. Pp. 359. Cloth $3.75; paper $3.00.)

This study, liberally documented from printed and manuscript sources, is an analysis of the background, contents, and influence of the thirty-one "massive volumes" of the *American Journal of Education* published by Henry Barnard in the years from 1855 to 1881. In successive chapters it presents the establishment and financing of the *Journal*, its editorial policy, scope, and scholarship, its position as a record of American education, as a record and source on European education, its professional leadership and services, and its place and influence in American education.

The reading of this volume, besides giving a good view and appreciation of Barnard's encyclopedic *Journal*, also provides a bird's-eye view of the factors affecting education in the United States during the period in which our present educational system was being developed. The first chapter, especially the section on financing, is somewhat drawn out, but Thursfield's material in chapter four, on the translations of European works on education, is worth the time of all educators. His analysis, in chapter five, of the professional leadership supplied by the *Journal* is the most important matter in the book. It shows how Barnard fostered ideas cognate to his own. Catholics will be particularly interested in this chapter which reveals how completely Barnard ignored religion as an essential means of education. "Barnard," says Thursfield, "omitted the arguments of the partisans of sectarian instruction" (p. 217). He makes clear that Barnard favored "humanitarianism" and some moral instruction, that he had that deep faith in education as a means of social regeneration which is characteristic of many who take the soul away from education by divorcing it from the supernatural life supplied by religion, that he assumed the viewpoint that education belongs primarily to the state, and that he played a not insignificant part in the popularization of Pestalozzian ideas.

The chapter on the influence of Barnard and his *Journal* is not conclusive. This very fact, however, gives evidence of the author's objectivity in not trying to read more into the facts than their proper weight justifies. For an understanding of the spirit and some of the sources from which our modern public school system has sprung this volume supplies valuable information. (CLARENCE E. ELWELL)

WALDMAN, MILTON. *Elizabeth and Leicester.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1945. Pp. 211. $3.00.)

"Protocol" historians will hardly accept this well-written biography as meriting a place in the category of the definitive. It must be said in justice to the author, however, that he obviously knows the period well. He has written several books dealing with the sixteenth century. He claims to have read everything that is to be found in Conyers Read's *Tudor Bibliography.* But the volume is strictly journalese in its make-up, not scholarly. Chapter and verse are not quoted to give authority to statements presented. Much of what is presented is interpretative rather than documentative. Waldman's defense of this approach is that there were no documents for all the off-the-record conversations which the two principal characters necessarily had with each other. His analysis of the eternal question of why Elizabeth did not marry is courageous and interesting, but it will hardly satisfy those who retain the notion that Elizabeth was not a normal person.

There are some highly interesting subjects of great value projected into the story. The position of London with reference to the central administration of the kingdom is of significance. It was almost a kingdom within a kingdom. There is a splendid analysis of the condition of the universities of the day. "The scholarships intended for the sons of the poor were often snatched by the sons of the rich, eager for a little fun or even in some cases a little more learning in pleasant surroundings before deciding what to do next; and since they were not all sufficiently bright to win admission on merit, bribery and social pressure were freely used to assist them in the elections . . . . They studied little other than romances, tables, dice and trifles . . . . found plenty of time to ruffle and riot it out . . . . and when called to task by the president or dean 'thought it sufficient to say that they be gentlemen.' " The post-Reformation period of educational disintegration so often spoken of by historians of this period had actually set in. This diagnosis will be of interest to educators (pp. 22-24).

Waldman refutes the oft-repeated statement that Elizabeth and Leicester met in jail. He leans rather to the supposition that they were classmates in Roger Ascham's school where they probably learned how to decline *amo* together. Devotees of the cinema would undobtedly favor the "jail" theory. If a movie were made of this story and this explanation were given, it would be difficult to be too severe upon them because the school thesis is not too well proved.

Students of this period and the reading public in general will be interested in the author's treatment of the book known as *Father Parson's Green Coat.* It was the kind of thing that related all the scandals of the period, particularly those connected with Elizabeth and Leicester. The effect of the book, as the author says, was "instantaneous, enormous and lasting" (p. 170). Scholars today cast doubt on the idea then prevalent that Father Parsons had written the work. Naturally this anonymous publication irritated Eilzabeth as much as did the anonymously published *Marprelate Tracts.*

Waldman's volume makes delightful reading. Since no authorities are quoted, the student cannot check on the statements, and this is the paramount weakness of the work. (EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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Benians, E. A., *Race and Nation in the United States. A Historical Sketch of the Intermingling of the Peoples in the Making of the American Nation.* (Cambridge: At the University Press; New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 48. $.75.) This brief essay by the Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, was delivered as a lecture to the students of Bedford College, Cambridge, on March 1, 1944.

Boehner, Philotheus, O.F.M., (Ed.), *The Tractatus de praedestinatione et de praescientia Dei et de futuris contingentibus of William of Ockham.* [Franciscan Institute Publications—No. 2]. (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute. 1945. Pp. xi, 139. $2.00.) Another link in the Ockham studies that Philotheus Boehner is producing so rapidly and so well. This edition is built on a wide manuscript basis. Asterisks and numbers used to refer to the critical apparatus are a concession to the printer. Father Boehner's forty-five-page discussion is an important contribution to the history of logic. In appendixes he edits five other texts referred to in his discussion.

Carroll, Sister Thomas Aquinas, R.S.M., *The Venerable Bede: His Spiritual Teachings.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 270. $3.00.) [Studies in Mediaeval History-New Series-IX]. An attractive study of this well-loved teacher of the Middle Ages. Bede's mediaeval fame rested on his spiritual doctrine rather than on his historical writings. This study presents his life and his teaching on the Church, its sacramental life, sin and penance, and virtue. Bede centered his teaching on the Church. Devoted monk himself, he did not write primarily for those in religious life.

Casey, Robert Pierce, *Religion in Russia.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1946. Pp. viii, 198. $2.00.)

Chorley, E. Clowes, *Men and Movements in the American Episcopal Church.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1946. Pp. ix, 501. $4.00.)

Cohn, Alfred E., *Minerva's Progress. Tradition and Dissent in American Culture.* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. 1946. Pp. 101. $2.00.)

Cruickshank, C. G., *Elizabeth's Army.* (London and New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. 156. $2.75.)

Curran, Francis X., S.J., *Major Trends in American Church History.* (New York: America Press. 1946. Pp. xviii, 198. $2.50.)

Curti, Merle, *The Roots of American Loyalty.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. x, 267. $3.00.)

David, F. D., *Our Neighbors the Koreans.* (New York: Field Afar Press. 1946. Pp. 90. $.35.) This brochure by one of the Maryknoll Sisters and listed as belonging to the World Horizons Series gives a convenient body of data on Korean history, social customs, and contacts with Christianity. There are suggestions for further reading at the end of each chapter and a bibliography.

DeGroot, John Henry, *The Shakespeares and "The Old Faith".* (New York: King's Crown Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 258. $3.00.)

Dulles, Foster Rhea, *China and America: The Story of their Relations since 1784.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 277. $2.75.)

Easterby, J. H., *The South Carolina Rice Plantation. As Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. xxi, 478. $5.00.)

Ellis, John Tracy, *The Formative Years of the Catholic University of America.* (Washington: American Catholic Historical Association. 1946. Pp. xiv, 415. $3.00). The first volume in the new series of the Association entitled Miscellaneous Studies. The work gives the first complete history from manuscript sources of the foundation of a national university for Catholics in the United States.

Espaillat, Francisco de la Motta, *Teoria del Estado Terráqueo.* (New York: The Author. 1944. Pp. 241.)

Fichter, Joseph H., S.J., *Christianity. An Outline of Dogmatic Theology for Laymen.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. ix, 267. $2.50.)

Fitzgerald, Walter, *The New Europe: An Introduction to Its Political Geography.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1945-46. Pp. xiii, 298. $2.75.)

Frawley, Sister M. Alphonsine, S.S.J., *Patrick Donahoe.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. xiii, 327. $3.50.) A Ph. D. dissertation on the editor of the Boston *Pilot*. At a time when there is increasing interest in Catholic Action and in the Catholic press it is of value to have the life story of a man who figured prominently in both fields throughout most of nineteenth-century America. Patrick Donahoe for nearly a half century was the guiding spirit of the Boston *Pilot*, one of the most influential Catholic papers in the United States. Sister Alphonsine's efforts at a complete biography of Donahoe were frustrated in part by the disappearance of most of the personal correspondence involved, but from a thorough study of the *Pilot* and other records a very useful body of data has been assembled in this monograph. This study together with that of Schroeder listed elsewhere in Books Received, marks the revival of the series, Studies in American Church History of the Catholic University of America, edited by Peter Guilday and John Tracy Ellis. This series was suspended four years ago but is now taken up again and other volumes will follow in due course.

George, Albert Joseph, *Pierre-Simon Ballanche. Precursor of Romanticism.* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press. 1946. Pp. xv, 207.)

Gerth, H. H., and Mills, C. Wright, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 490. $5.00.)

Gibson, Hugh (Ed.), *The Ciano Diaries, 1938-1943.* (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. xxxi, 584. $4.00.)

Hall, Walter Phelps and Robert Greenhalgh Albian with the Collaboration of Jennie Barnes Pope, *A History of England and the British Empire*—second edition. (Boston: Ginn and Co. 1946. Pp. xi, 481. $3.50.)

Harmon, Nolan B., *The Famous Case of Myra Clark Gaines.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1946. Pp. xi, 481. $3.50.)

Hummel, Edelhard L., C.M.M., *The Concept of Martyrdom according to St. Cyprian of Carthage.* [The Catholic University of America Studies in Christian Antiquity edited by Johannes Quasten—No. 9]. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. xvii, 202. $2.00.) This dissertation seeks to straighten out the confused opinion as to what meaning Cyprian attached to martyr and confessor. In six chapters it presents and analyses his rich and exalted concept of the martyr.

The International Court of Justice. Selected Documents Relating to the Drafting of the Statute. (Washington: United States Government Printing Office. 1946. Pp. v, 167. $1.00.)

Kelly, George A., *Catholics and the Practice of the Faith. A Census Study of the Diocese of Saint Augustine.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 224. $2.50.) This study, done as a dissertation for the Ph.D. degree by Father Kelly of the Archdiocese of New York, is of distinct value for historians of the American Church. No one has worked very long in

the field without being made painfully aware of the woefully inadequate and inaccurate statistical data on the American Catholic population. Father Kelly's monograph makes it patently clear that the only remedy is a thorough census by dioceses such as he has done for the Diocese of St. Augustine. Readers of this volume are likewise due for some surprises when they see the results of the investigation in regard to problems such as the relation of religious observance to mixed marriages, income of the family, and education.

John, Hans, *Prophets and Peoples. Studies in Nineteenth Century Nationalism.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 213. $2.50.)

Landgraf, Artur, *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola Petri Abaelardi in Epistolam ad Hebraeos,* [Publications in Mediaeval Studies—II, Part IV]. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame. 1945. Pp. 653-864.) The fourth and final part of this commentary edited by the Auxiliary Bishop of Bamberg. Editor and publisher combine to render a service to mediaeval biblical studies.

Latourette, Kenneth Scott, *A Short History of the Far East.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. xiv, 665. $4.75.)

Leach, Henry Goddard (Ed.), *A Pageant of Old Scandinavia.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press for the American-Scandinavian Foundation. 1946. Pp. xv, 350. $3.75.) The director of the American-Scandinavian Foundation has here edited 116 selections from Scandinavian sagas, histories, and eddas from the early sources of Norse literature down to the fourteenth century. Many of the translations from Icelandic, Old Irish, Greek, Latin, Russian, and Arabic have appeared previously, although some are new. Included in this attractively-made book are a list of selected reading and a bibliography on the sources for these early Scandinavian literary remains.

Longrigg, Stephen H., *A Short History of Eritrea.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1946. Pp. 188. $3.50.)

Louis Ginzberg. Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday. English Section. (New York: American Academy for Jewish Research. 1945. Pp. ix, 446.) Mr. Maurice Jacobs of the Jewish Publication Society of America prepared this and a companion volume in Hebrew for the editorial committee of the American Academy for Jewish Research. The essays are confined for the most part to the fields in which Dr. Ginzberg distinguished himself with special emphasis on the Talmud and Haloka. The essays have beeen contributed by individual scholars.

Mann, Golo, *Secretary of Europe: The Life of Friedrich Gentz, Enemy of Napoleon.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1496. Pp. xvi, 323. $4.00.)

Margolin, Arnold D., *From a Political Diary: Russia, the Ukraine, and America 1905-1945.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 250. $3.00.)

Marshak, Robert E., Eldred C. Nelson, and Leonard I. Schiff. *Our Atomic World.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1946. Pp. 58. $.50.)

Mason, John Brown, *The Danzig Dilemma.* (Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1946. Pp. xviii, 377. $4.00.)

Maverick, Lewis A., *China—A Model for Europe.* (San Antonio, Texas: Paul Anderson Co. 1946. Pp. xi, 334.)

Merriam, Charles E., *Systematic Politics.* (Chicago: Uuiversity of Chicago Press. 1945. Pp. xiii, 348. $3.75.)

Morgan, Helen L., *Mistress of the White House: The Story of Dolly Madison.* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1946. Pp. 248. $2.00.)

Mowry, George E., *Theodore Roosevelt and the Progressive Movement.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 405. $4.00.)

Mulhern, James, *A History of Education.* (New York: Ronald Press Co. 1946. Pp. xii, 647. $4.50.)

Mulally, Joseph Patrick, *The Summulae Logicales of Peter of Spain* [Publications in Mediaeval Studies-VIII]. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame. 1945. Pp. civ, 172.)

Nelson, Bernard H., *The Fourteenth Amendment and the Negro since 1920.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. viii, 185. $2.00.) At a time when race relations within the United States is so much to the fore of the national scene it is good to have this scholarly study of the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution and the Negro during the last quarter century. It was done as a doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America. Mr. Nelson contributed an article to our April issue on the free Negro during the Civil War.

Noyes, Alfred, *The Golden Book of Catholic Poetry.* (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott Co. 1946. Pp. xxix, 440. $3.50.)

O'Casey, Sean, *Drums under the Windows.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1946. Pp. 431. $4.50.)

Panofsky, Erwin (Ed.), *Abbot Suger: on the Abbey Church of St. Denis and its Art Treasures.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 250. $3.75.)

Parks, Oliver L., *Flight to Destiny. The diary of Oliver L. Parks on his trip to Rome as a member of the party accompanying John Cardinal Glennon, Archbishop of St. Louis Diocese, to the Papal Consistory held in Rome, Italy, February 18-19, 1946.* (Kansas City, Missouri: Air World Education, 101 W. Eleventh Street. 1946. Pp. 24.) Reprints of this brochure may be obtained by writing to the above address.

Peers, E. Allison, *Mother of Carmel. A Portrait of St. Teresa of Jesus.* (New York: Morehouse-Gorham Co. 1946. Pp. xi, 220. $2.50.)

Pope-Hennessy, Una, *Charles Dickens.* (New York: Howell, Soskin Publishers, Inc. 1946. Pp. xii, 488. $4.00.)

Rand, E. K., *Cicero in the Courtroom of St. Thomas Aquinas.* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1946. Pp. 115. $1.50.)

Schachner, Nathan, *Alexander Hamilton.* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1946. Pp. vi, 488. $4.00.)

Scheeben, Matthias Joseph, *The Mysteries of Christianity.* Translated by Cyril Vollert, S.J. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1946. Pp. ix, 834. $7.50.) This important work of the great theologian of Cologne first appeared in its original German edition in 1865. This English translation, done by a professor at St. Mary's College, Kansas, will make more available to interested students in the United States the theological learning and scholarship of one of the leading minds of the German Catholic world of the last half of the nineteenth century.

Schroeder, Sister M. Carol, O.S.F., *The Catholic Church in the Diocese of Vincennes, 1847-1877.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1946. Pp. vii, 227. $2.50.) This monograph is Volume XXXV of the Studies in American Church History. The value of studies of this kind lies in the fact that sections and segments of the history of the Catholic Church in the United States have needed to be rewritten for years from the manuscript sources. Such is the case with the old Diocese of Vincennes (the present Archdiocese of Indianapolis). By a very thorough coverage of the rich archival materials at the University of Notre Dame, Sister Carol has been able to rewrite the full story of this interesting diocese of the Middle West during three decades which illustrate very well the developments of both the Church and the Republic before and after the Civil War. The monograph forms a new addition to the Studies in American Church History of the Catholic University of America.

Seitz, May A., *The History of the Hoffman Paper Mills in Maryland.* (Towson, Maryland: The Author. 1946. Pp. 63. $2.00.) This slender volume tells the story of enterprise which developed in Maryland at the hands of an eighteenth-century German immigrant and his descendants. An appendix contains some genealogical data on members of the Hoffman family and a brief bibliography.

Shannon, Fred. A., *The Farmer's Last Frontier, Agriculture, 1860-1897.* Vol. V. Economic History of the United States. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc. 1946. Pp. xii, 434. $3.75.)

Silberner, Edmund, *The Problem of War in Nineteenth Century Economic Thought.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1946. Pp. xiv, 332. $3.00.)

Waugh, Evelyn, *Edmund Campion.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1946. Pp. x, 239. $2.75.)

Welles, Winifred, *The Lost Landscape.* (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1946. Pp. 299. $3.00.)

Wilkinson, L. P., *Horace and His Lyric Poetry.* (New York: Macmillan Co.-Cambridge at the University Press. 1946. Pp. ix, 185. $2.75.)

Yinger, J. Milton, *Religion in the Struggle for Power: A Study in the Scoiology of Religion.* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press. 1946. Pp. xix, 275. $3.00.)

Zwierlein, Frederick J., *Letters of Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid and Allied Documents.* (Rochester, New York: Art Print Shop. 1946. Pp. 218. $3.00.)